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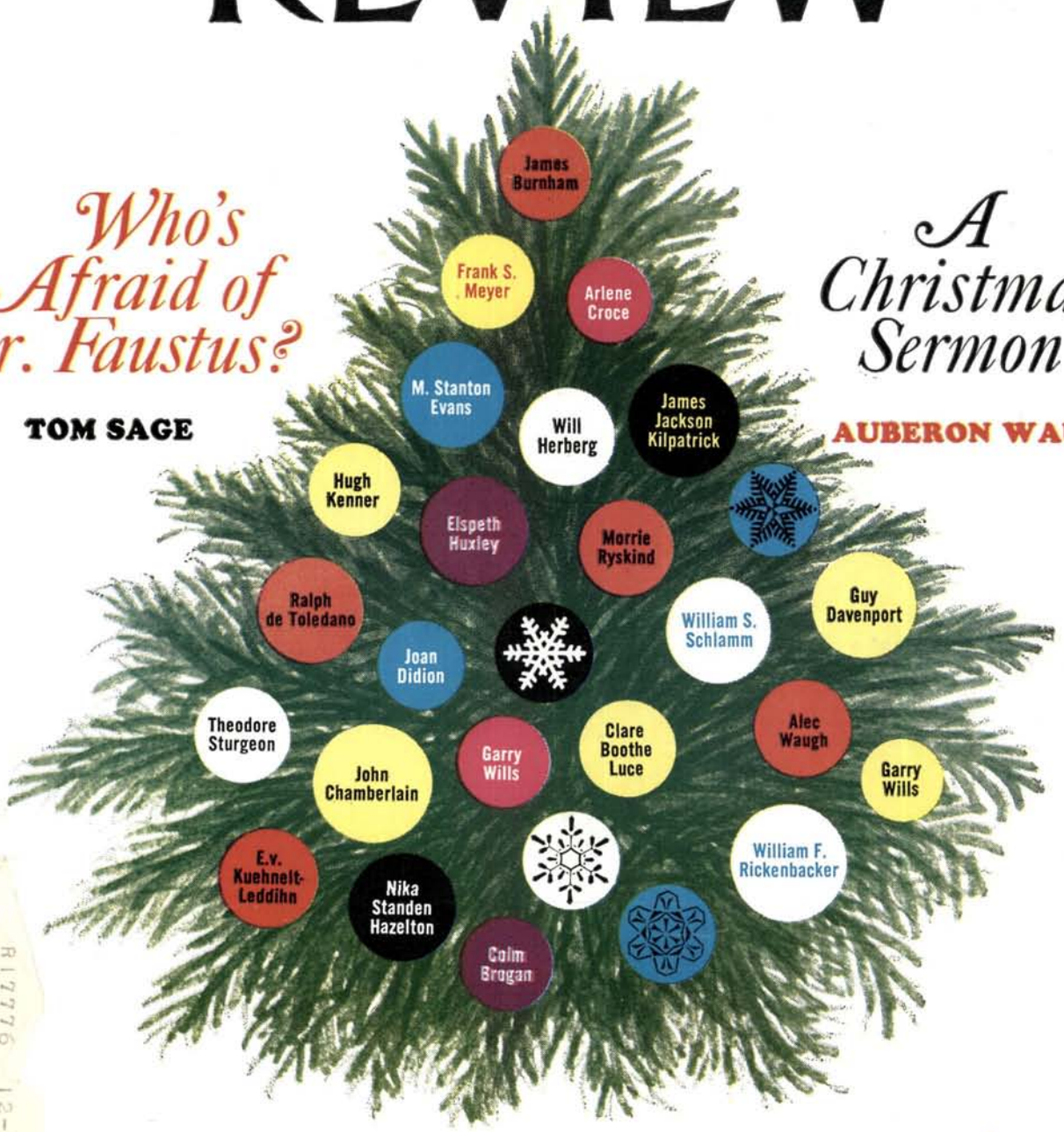
NALD REAGAN
OR PRESIDENT?

DECEMBER 27, 1966

NATIONAL REVIEW



Who's Afraid of Dr. Faustus?

TOM SAGE

A Christmas Sermon

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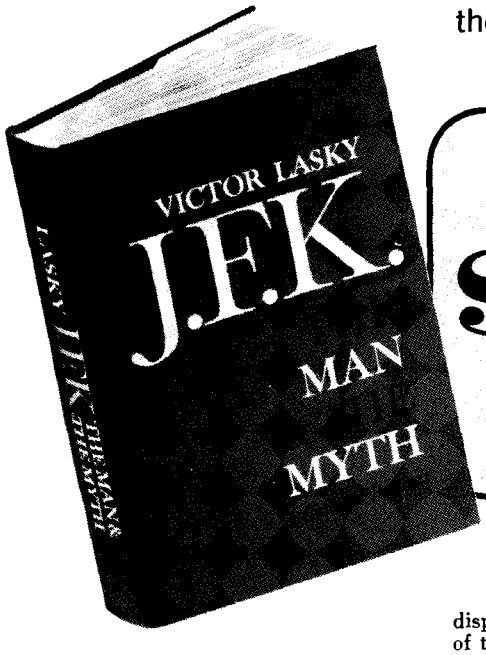

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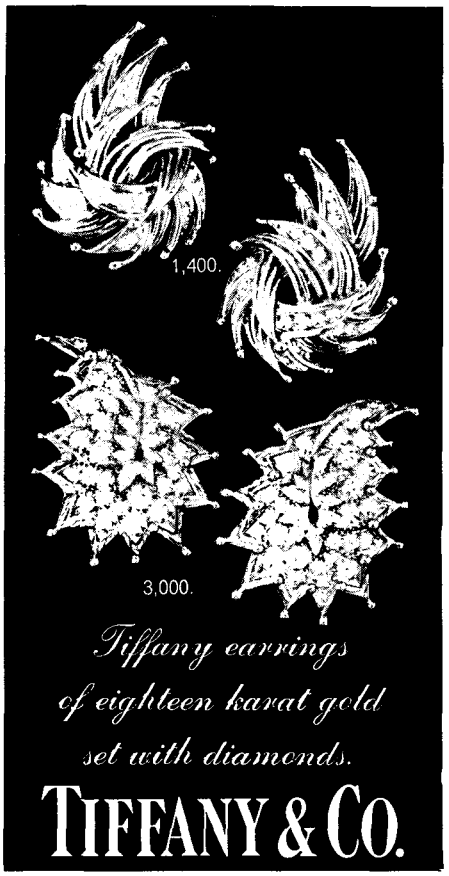

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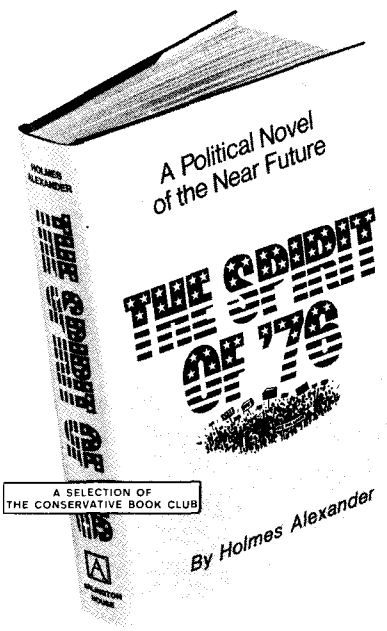
IN • THIS • ISSUE

➔ *Joyeux Noel!* And to that end we offer three Christmas posies, a bouquet of the principal blossoms of the season — nostalgic, familial, devout. **Alec Waugh,** the professional traveler, writes of the dozens of Christmases he has spent away from home since 1917, and how a Christmas on an alien shore makes you think of home above all. . . . His nephew **Auberon Waugh,** author of *The Foxglove Saga* and *Where Are the Violets Now,* is moved to meditate on the diluted form the Christmas tidings have taken in modern Christian pulpits, concluding that there can be no goodwill that is not primarily concerned with the moral health of the beloved. . . . Ah, caroling. **Aloise Buckley Heath** explains why months of choral rehearsals in the home led to a songless service at last. What would you do when "Gladly the cross I'd bear" turns into "Gladly, the cross-eyed bear"?. . . . And some reports from abroad. **James Burnham** and **Anthony Lejeune** file separate copy on the Rhodesian trouble, Mr. Burnham writing from the front, telling how things look to those most intimately involved, Lejeune giving the view from London. They agree that London has made a bad job of it, and that Harold Wilson will pay a penalty, and that Ian Smith's Rhodesia has more than a fighting chance to survive. . . . **William S. Schlamm** gets at the roots of the recent political flipflop in West Germany. No, he explains, it isn't a proto-Nazi coup. . . . **"Tom Sage"** makes his HQ in Europe and pays close attention to the cultural comings and goings. He visited Richard Burton and la Taylor during the shooting of *Faustus.* What did Richard say? What did Richard and Elizabeth do? Who is Tom Sage? Richard knows. . . . Across the water from London, **Harold O. J. Brown** attended the World Congress of Evangelism in West Berlin, where, it would appear, there was never a greater need for faith, hope and charity.

➔ **Frank S. Meyer,** studying the election returns, disdains to claim a clear-cut victory for either wing of the GOP. It was a standoff, he contends—but the kind of standoff that makes it all but impossible to think of a GOP Liberal heading the ticket in '68. . . . **Russell Kirk** notes that Labor Secretary Wirtz has now taken up Defense Secretary McNamara's call for universal training in "youth camps," and notes further that the same dreadful proposal was aired in 1945, only to be stamped under foot by the late Senator Robert Taft, unless him. . . . **Nika Standen Hazelton** offers the best of the current crop of cookbooks, modestly omitting her own definitive *Art of Danish Cookery* and *Art of Scandinavian Cooking.* Coming in March: her *The Best of Italian Cooking.*

➔ Prof. **Gerhart Niemeyer** likes very much of what he sees in Frank Trager's *Why Vietnam?* Mr. Niemeyer himself is working on a broad study of revolutionary ideology. . . . Mr. **Neal Freeman,** an editor of Arlington House, reviews $14 worth of books on LBJ, of which $8 was well-spent. . . . Mr. **Jared Lobdell,** a graduate student at Wisconsin and an adept of C. S. Lewis, welcomes a posthumous collection of Lewis's literary essays. . . . Prof. **Thomas Molnar,** who wrote "the book" on Bernanos and whose most recent book is *South West Africa,* rubs his hands over a new translation of Bernanos' *Mouchette.* . . . Mr. **Peter Witonski,** on a fellowship at Oxford, describes a new American museum. Recently he was detailed to Florence to assess damage to medieval manuscripts. ➔

Is This Book, About A Conservative In The White House, Just A Dream . . . Or A Prophecy?



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TO THE EDITOR

Perfect?

Your "Evolution of a Cover" article [*NR* photographic section, Nov. 29] provided pure delight for this reader. But take care. Humility seasons the enlightening introduction. You don't want us to think you're perfect, do you?

MRS. ARTHUR G. WILLIAMS
Mountainside, N.J.

Certainly not. See below. —ED

Contrary to popular belief and *ex cathedra* pronouncement in the NATIONAL REVIEW the "last of the covers to carry the 'Journal of Fact and Opinion' banner (and the off-center 'Review')" was dated April 19, 1966, not April 5. The April 19 issue is distinguished not only for carrying the last of the old-style covers, but also for several excellent articles, notably Garry Wills' piece on optimism, and "Keeping Up with the Caballeros," which introduced your newer readers to the delightful Mr. Peter Crumpet.

Chantilly, Va. TIMOTHY DLUGOS

I do believe you have erred enormously. In "Who Won?" [Nov. 29] you state: "The senatorial races? Eleven Republican senators were elected, one of them newly elected." My arithmetic reveals that *eighteen* Republican senators were elected (in addition to those named by you: Jordan of Idaho, Pearson of Kansas, Cooper of Kentucky, Griffin of Michigan, Hatfield of Oregon; Baker of Tennessee, and Hansen of Wyoming), *six* of them newly elected (Percy, Brooke, Griffin, Hatfield, Baker, and Hansen).

Madison, Wis. JACK WILLIAMSON

Your editorial paragraph concerning the X-rays and photos of President Kennedy's body [Nov. 29] is in error on several counts.

The photos and X-rays were not made in Dallas, but at Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland. The reference to "two Dallas physicians" being shown the secret material is also incorrect. It was, rather, two of the three Bethesda autopsy doctors who viewed the materials.

The article continues, noting that the "two . . . physicians confirmed their original finding . . . that Kennedy and Connally were struck by the same bullet." While, as you say, this finding is "crucial to the investigation" it was the *Commission's* conclusion and not the doctors'.

The doctors' original finding—and crucial it is—was that the first (i.e. non-fatal) bullet struck the President in the

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ıack of the neck and exited from his hroat. Where the bullet went from there vas a question settled (if you believe ıim) by Arlen Specter, the counsel to he Commission, who first formulated he "single bullet" theory.

ırlington, N.J. JON WILL SOPER

Complaints

The conclusion in "Who Won?" [Nov. 9], that the election results were a tandoff between Liberals and conservaives, is ridiculous. Any way you slice t, the 1966 national election was a clear-ut conservative victory in both parties. No one can alibi (though they try) a 0 per cent conservative victory (over ıiberals) in the House, a 75 per cent in overnorships, and a 66 per cent in the enate. It wasn't even a "moderate" ictory though they had their successes.

anta Maria, Calif. T. M. MORSE

low can we have an article on Undertanding Hugh Kenner?

Burnham on McNamara, now Kenner n McLuhan [Nov. 29]! Do you people ave a war going against intelligibility?

'incinnati, Ohio EDWARD LANGLEY

am sorry to see that NATIONAL REVIEW s endorsing the "ombudsman" idea as : was developed in socialist Sweden, nd has been introduced into other ocialist countries [Nov. 29]. The function of the ombudsman is to defend he rights of individuals when they are rampled on by a socialist bureaucracy. To advocate such an official means that ou have given up the fight against the stablishment of a socialist society, and ıre now simply trying to obtain the best erms you can under its rule.

'amaica, N.Y. ERIC BLAKE

'o if you have criminals, give up policeıen? —ED.

Hart on Kipling

–What a pleasing surprise to see Jeffrey Hart's article on Kipling [Nov. 29]. Throughout Kipling's utterly incredible ariety of subjects, runs the theme—it is nan as man that counts irrespective of he incidentals of race, religion, intelli;ence, and station in life.

Chicago, Ill. RUDOLPH M. UNGER

enjoyed and heartily concur with effrey Hart's comments on Kipling but do wish he had mentioned some of he master's works which have an nmediacy which would be amusing if : were not rather frightening—the *ungle Books.*

The story "Rikki-Tikki-Tavi," about mongoose standing off a couple of obras in a *white man's bungalow,* inludes as a minor character Chuchundra he Muskrat, who spends his nights unning around and around the walls f the bungalow's living room trying to

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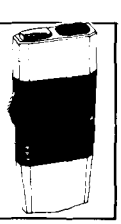

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Here are a few unsolicited fan letters from erstwhile doubting Thomases who became solid ACCUMEN partisans. How about you?

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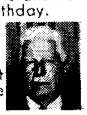
Joel Adler, 2635 Haring Street, Brooklyn, New York
Shaving with the ACCUMEN is a pleasurable experience. I now realize that a close, non-irritating shave **is** possible with an electric. The formidable powerplant, if charged overnight, lasts for two weeks of shaves.

Roger P. Siegel, 2036 E. 22nd Street, Cleveland, Ohio
I consider your ACCUMEN the finest shaver made. It cuts fast and close and produces no razor burn. Your ad is accurate in every detail. You have a superior product.

Harry L. Hooker, Box 11, Glasgo, Connecticut
I am very pleased with the ACCUMEN. It is all you claim it to be and much more. I have recommended it to all my friends. You may count me as a loyal user.

Rev. Wm. H. Hohman, Pastor, Alliance, Ohio
Please send me another ACCUMEN Shaver. This is the third one I have ordered — my friends seem to like them too much. If this keeps up I might become your *East Coast representative.*

Robert Buckner, 818 N. Doheny Drive, Los Angeles 69, California
There is only one word for the ACCUMEN—"superb". Please send me another one. I want it for my son's birthday.



L. D. Myrah, Williamson Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio
The ACCUMEN is without doubt the best shaver I have ever owned — and I have had at least six different makes.

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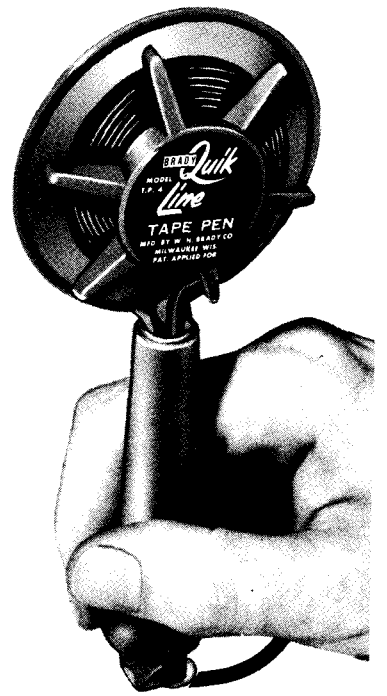

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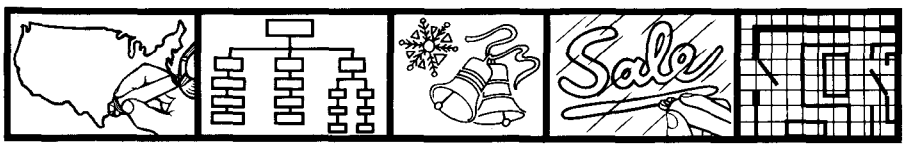

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More on Burnham on McNamara

Mr. Burnham's recent bemusing articl on the alleged foibles of the Secretar of Defense [Nov. 15] may have som salutary effects, if only enough of th right people will read and try t understand it. However, I believe Mr Burnham (through the quoted words c Mr. McNamara) carries the soporific too far occasionally, as in the remark on the B-70 project. The essence of Mr McNamara's defense here is that hind sight is best, and that hindsight nov indicates that a better weapons systen could be purchased for the incrementa $13.5 billion which would otherwis have been expended. One condition (no exactly a premise) is missing here: th tacit assumption that one will surviv or has survived to avail oneself of thi hindsight. A weapons system, no matte how sophisticated, serves primarily t buy one time through its deterrent capa bilities. The expenditure *may* be justi fied, *caeteris paribus*, so long as the system is not made seriously obsolescen

(Continued on p. 1338)

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The WEEK

● Because of the continuing deficit in the U.S. international payments, the banking system is being asked to make its voluntary controls on foreign loans even more voluntary than before.

● School officials from all over the South attended a hearing in Atlanta of a House Education and Labor subcommittee and there registered long-standing complaints against strongarming by the U.S. Office of Education to enforce compliance with school integration "guidelines." Rep. Edith Green, a Liberal Democrat (ADA 89, COPE 98, ACA 10) from Oregon who believes desegregation is moving too slowly, was convinced. "I intend," said she, "to turn my attention to this in the next session."

● Over there on the surrealist Left it has become fashionable, in recent weeks, to assert that Hanoi has made not one but two definite overtures of peace in Vietnam, both of which were turned down in Washington by the militaristic, imperialistic, interventionist Administration. *Reine Schmiertaktik.* Hanoi is on record not two but two dozen times to the effect that there can be no negotiation until the U.S. has withdrawn its troops (impossible) and no peace until all of Vietnam is managed from Hanoi (tilt), to which end Hanoi has splattered the record with declarations of intent to carry on the war for twenty years. If the Communists should change their mind, they will not find it difficult to communicate their decision, and the war would not continue or discontinue depending on whether the chain of communication between the prime minister, the subminister, the chauffeur, the maid, the other maid, the cook, and the President of Switzerland were accidentally broken. The North Vietnamese can very well communicate any message at all into the American diplomatic gathering system, fully confident that it will be scooped up immediately and delivered to an anxious capital, anxious to conclude the war.

● Had King Hussein lost the ballgame? At first glance it seemed so. In a stormy four-day session in Cairo the Arab League had voted unanimously to station other Arab troops in Jordan to help defend her against Israeli raids. Since King Hussein would as soon play host to a nest of vipers as to the armed ruffians of most of his fellow Arab Leaguers, this looked bad. But Hussein was able to write into the deal a few conditions of his own: 1) None of th occupying troops would be Syrian or members c the violently anti-Hussein Palestinian Liberation Or ganization. 2) Some Saudi and Iraqi troops coul start moving in in two months' time, provided 3 Egyptian troops from the occupation forces in Yeme replaced UN units in the Sinai Peninsula and th Gaza strip. Since Nasser is not prepared to abando his Yemen gamble and the UN is unlikely to pu its peace-keeping units out of the Israeli-Jorda border region just when the situation is heating up Jordan is in the enviable position of being able t agree with the mandate of the League, and ye keep the villains out.

● That ole debbil Franco just can't be trusted. Firs he offered the Spanish people a new and less re strictive constitution, put the question to a referen dum—and then went about influencing the vote. H asked (ASKED?) Spanish broadcasters not to pla a certain song until after December 14. Its name "Di Que No" (Say No).

● Why there were two U.S. policies on "tw Chinas": UN Ambassador Arthur Goldberg calle the President, told him he wanted to support th Italian proposal for a study group to "look into Chinese representation in the United Nations, an that Nationalist China had agreed to go along. Taiwan of course, had said no such thing, and as it turne out the UN wasn't interested either.

● "I conducted a sort of personal referendum be tween Communism and democracy by seeing bot firsthand and making up my mind the hard way, is how Clarence Adams describes his defection, thir teen years ago, to Red China, and his redefection last summer, to the U.S. Adams, a Korean Wa veteran with a Chinese wife, has returned to hi home, Memphis, a militant anti-Communist eager t serve the country he once betrayed. A Negro, h rejoices in a changed South. "As a boy, I though of Chicago as a mecca for Negroes. Memphis is work ing out its problems better than Chicago."

● Not long ago (Oct. 18) this journal called on th nation's funds and foundations to pledge vast sum to providing special opportunities for Negro student and unskilled workers. Dr. John Loughran of Mary land has worked up a few figures showing that th total assets of the nation's foundations are on th order of $10 billion, which is a mere fraction c the Federal Government's yearly budget, and there fore obviously inadequate. However: as Richar Cornuelle has amply demonstrated, private fund enjoy enormous leverage. Once a private fund ha underwritten the risk-portion of a program, straigh

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commercial sources will do the rest. With the result that $500,000 out on loan to students will do the work, say, of $25 million all told, if the loss ratio is about average. Or $10 billion would do the work of $500 billion. Sorta makes you feel like a needy student, doesn't it?

● Of the five U.S. Roman Catholic cardinals—Spellman of New York, McIntyre of Los Angeles, Shehan of Baltimore, Cushing of Boston and Ritter of St. Louis—Ritter is the one generally regarded as the leftmost in both the liturgical and political senses. Yet it was Joseph Cardinal Ritter who last week tossed three of St. Louis' most active priests out of the parish on grounds—the priests told the *New York Times*—of excessive Liberalism. Cardinal Spellman's relocation last year of the popular pacifist Jesuit Daniel Berrigan brought down the resounding thunder of the Catholic Left, and previously the anti-McIntyre activities of the insubordinate priest William DuBay had been a *cause célèbre*. But to Ritter's action against left extremism there has as yet been no response save surprise, and speculation that Ritter may have been emboldened by the Pope's recent chastisement of some Jesuits.

● Christmas cheer to oldfangled Catholics: The Pope to the avant garde Dutch hierarchy, November 23: "From your study we await a clear and firm profession of the faith itself . . . curbing certain rash and erring opinions which in these recent times have darkened in some points, as is known, the purity of the faith and have disturbed the firmness and serenity of many believing Catholics."

● At U.S. Steel's recent luncheon for the gentlemen of the financial press, Chairman Roger Blough presented Big Steel's annual award for the soundest business and political judgment of the past year to Richard J. Callahan, editor of *33* Magazine and Conservative Party candidate for John Lindsay's old 17th C.D. seat in last month's elections. Among Callahan's competitors for the prize, awarded on the basis of a questionnaire filled out at last year's luncheon, were savants Terry Robards of *Fortune*, Robert Wright of the *New York Times*, *WJT*'s Leslie Gould.

● To Postmaster General Lawrence O'Brien it's "a nightmare." To any other banker in America it would be a dream come true, until such time as the feds picked him up. Last March Congress decided to phase out the 55-year-old Postal Savings System. In April the final 2 per cent (yes, 2 per cent) yearly interest payments were made, at which time the Postmaster General urged his depositors to pick up their marbles and take them elsewhere. No go. Some 600,000 of them still have $147 million on deposit with the Postal Savings System—and no interest is being paid. Some nightmare!

● OVERKILL DEPT. *Worker* headline (Dec. 13): "100 Groups Represented at Anti-Nazi Conference." Story—J. Edgar Hoover testimony (Sept. 2) to a House subcommittee: "The national membership of this group [George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party] is less than 100."

● Last call for His Lordship.

Peace, Peace

From Rome and Miami Beach on the same day, December 8, came calls for an extension of the Christmas truce in Vietnam. The Pope expressed the wish that the time might be used for "sincere negotiations, negotiations which will lead to peace." Miami Beach, where the National Council of Churches was convening, expressed further the wish that the Administration suspend bombing raids even though nothing came of it from the other side, further that it negotiate with the Vietcong, further that it say whether the VC has in fact already offered to negotiate, further that it cease branding as disloyalty dissent on the Vietnam question, further that it stop hiding the facts about the war, further that it hand the whole thing over to the UN. Headlines: "Pope & U.S. Churchmen Ask Peace in Viet." To tie the knot there was U Thant assuring the world that he appreciated the Pope's message.

Now it is one thing to plead for peace, especially at Christmas time (see Auberon Waugh, p. 1312), and quite another to outline explicit goals and make an identifiably political stand on the issues. The National Council of Churches has in its upper, policy-making levels functioned for years as a quasi-political pressure group similar to the ADL and the American Legion. It is a perennial nuisance to have to remind a popular and propagandizing press that partisan political judgments wafted from holy offices are infrequently had on the Highest Authority.

All Quiet on the Western Front

The most serious omission at the recent Republican Governors Conference at Colorado Springs was the cards. Those little cards that men pin on their lapels at sales conferences saying Hello I'm Jack from Providence. Hello I'm George from Detroit. Hello I'm Ronnie from Sacramento. Hello I'm Chuck from Springfield. Then everyone would have known how to act. Instead they all pretended they knew each other

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and didn't have to be introduced (Ronnie you remember Jimmy from Columbus), which made matters miserably difficult for the press.

The press outdid itself. Two hundred and twenty-five members of the press trotted out to Colorado to gaze upon all those Republican Governors Conferring. Tom reported that Jimmy was being spoken of favorably in Winnie's brother's circles. Scotty said John wouldn't stand in Mark's way if he wanted to head Ronnie off at the pass. Walt wrote that Charlie was talking of asking Chuck to offer Jack and Tommy a straight quarter of the profits of. . . . Nobody mentioned Dick. Look! See Dick? Where is Dick?

That barrister, Richard M. Nixon, had lain low. He correctly estimated that it was a nice day for the others to go out and play, that they would organize a few games and make their own rules till Mother Bliss called them home for supper, and that in the general jollity his wit would not be half missed. When darkness came he could always pick up the marbles. Just so.

Barry Goldwater still occupies a powerful position in the gantlet that leads to the Presidential nomination. By the admission of an antagonistic newsman the most "electric" figure at the conference was Ronald Reagan. All agree that John Chaffee has peaked too soon. Chuck Percy's friends advise him to try his hand at public office before running for the Presidency. Romney?

The two clearest lessons from Colorado are that Romney is willing to become the most visible Republican Presidential hopeful, and that the Establishment press is delighted to have him aboard. Romney delivers an address at the Waldorf-Astoria fund-raising dinner of the United Jewish Appeal (he said it was good for people to help each other). Romney announces he will travel to foreign lands (it's broadening). Romney declares he will Go To Vietnam (our boys, etc.). All the while Romney makes page one, is quoted on radio and television, and can do no wrong.

George Romney, you see, is the Bill Scranton of '67. But where's the little card saying Hello I'm Mary . . .?

The CPNY and Mr. Javits

In New York, the stunning news is that the final count of the voting on November 8 puts the Conservative Party ahead of the Liberal Party. And that, ladies and gentlemen, is a counterrevolution *accomplished*. The odds against its happening were somewhere around one hundred to one. The Liberals, sensing danger, had put up a glamor boy with a putatively irresistible name. Against Franklin Delano Roosevelt Jr. the Conservatives fielded a modest upstate don, utterly unknown. Dean Paul Adams and the entire Conservative ticket spent a total of $38,000 —one-tenth, or less, of the money spent by the twenty-year-old Liberal Party. And beat it. The psychological boost of acquiring Line C (the Liberals are now dispossessed, and must occupy Line D, cheek by jowl with the zoo-parties E, F and G) is of inestimable consequence.

What does it all mean? One spokesman for the Conservative Party commented: "Let's put it this way. Javits is through." The remark was intentionally jocular, but Senator Javits is a splendid symbol of the diminution in the prestige of the ultra-Liberal Republicans. And his anguish is especially acute in the light of his having so recently lost his heart to himself as Vice President in 1968. Indeed, Sen. Javits had told an interviewer earlier in the week that frankly, he believes himself "entitled to national consideration." Why? Because he has been—brace yourselves—the Republican Party's chief "ideologist" over the past twenty years (if indeed he were, he would be entitled to be tarred and feathered on national TV). Palms upturned to Republicans from coast to coast, the chief ideologist of the Republican Party learned two days later that he had lost repeat lost what was generally considered a perfectly routine bid for membership in New York's Constitutional Convention. Running with the endorsement of the Republican Party and the Liberal Party, the chief ideologist got fewer votes in a statewide contest than an utter stranger called William Bensely (Springville, New York), who ran with the endorsement of the Republican *and* Conservative parties.

When asked to comment on the Conservatives' victory, Senator Javits was not quite struck dumb, but might better have been. He reached back to cite the days of yore when dragons fell to the right of him.

"I suppose it would be appropriate to paraphrase the famous phrase, 'Fifty million Frenchmen can't be wrong,' and say that 3,272,417 New Yorkers are unlikely to be wrong. That was the extent of my support in the state in 1962 when I last ran."

The reactionary Javits was pointing to 1962, while

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Focus on WASHINGTON

◆ Whether Republicans and conservatives are going to make themselves felt in the 90th Congress or not depends in large part on their capturing crucial committee appointments in the House of Representatives. There are 78 Democratic and nine Republican committee vacancies. In the 89th Congress, Democrats enjoyed a 2-1 majority on most committees, reflecting the over-all make-up of the House. The 1966 elections lowered the Democratic margin to something like 4-3, which should result in Republican gains of two, three or four seats on most committees. The most important ones are Rules, Ways and Means, and Appropriations.

◆ Ways and Means handles taxes, tariffs, Social Security and Medicare; it will get LBJ's expected request for a tax increase and choose between Democratic and Republican versions of a Social Security boost. In the Liberal 89th Congress, this Committee refused to hold hearings on liberalized trade with Communist countries and let the AFL-CIO's unemployment compensation bill die. Of the seventeen Democrats on the Committee, three Liberals retired or were defeated. The ranking Republican, Rep. John W. Byrnes of Wisconsin, says the GOP will ask for all three seats. More likely, though, would be a two-seat gain, for a ratio of fifteen Democrats to ten Republicans. Texas and New York are fighting hard for the one Democratic vacancy. Conservative Rep. Omar Burleson says he has the unanimous backing of the Texas Democratic delegation; New York has not yet agreed upon its candidate. The post is crucial. Two other Committee Democrats are considered conservative, and a Burleson appointment would result in a thirteen-member conservative majority. For that reason, and to safeguard his tax proposals, the President is expected to back the New York delegate.

◆ Conservatives have their best chance on the Appropriations Committee, where they have a juicy choice of targets such as the War on Poverty, "demonstration cities" legislation, rent supplements, the Teacher Corps, and foreign aid. The present balance of 34 Democrats and sixteen Republicans should shift to thirty Democrats–twenty Republicans, there being four Democratic vacancies (three Liberals, one conservative) through retirement or defeat at the polls. Of the remaining Democrats, seven are conservatives and two more vote occasionally with the conservatives. Good Republican appointments, therefore, would result in a conservative coalition that could block Administration proposals by a margin of one to four (or more) votes.

◆ The Education and Labor Committee suffered only slight losses—two Democrats and one Republican. But if the ratio is changed from 21-10 to 18-13 or 17-14, one or two Democrats would have to be bumped, and the lowest in seniority are the arch-Liberals Philip Burton of California and Lloyd Meeds of Washington. If Rep. Burton is kicked off the Education and Labor Committee, some mischievous Liberals will try to get him on the Committee on Un-American Activities, which he annually opposes. That Committee has two Democratic vacancies, and the House Democratic leadership is having a hard time finding a Liberal who will serve on it (one vacancy presumably will be filled by a Republican). Next year the Committee is expected to conduct an inquiry into civil rights riots. Should the GOP control the House after the 1968 elections, Rep. John Ashbrook of Ohio—chairman of the American Conservative Union—would become chairman of HUAC.

—CATO

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the progressives are taken by his dismal showing in 1966. And now, added to the Senator's inclement Liberalism, there are the early signs of Stassenism. Poor Javits: 3,853,934 New Yorkers voted for Senator Ives in 1952, giving him the largest plurality in history. Two years later, he was defeated for governor. Next time around, for Mr. Javits, is two short years away. It is about as likely that he will be nominated for Vice President, as that he will be reelected senator. Unless, of course, he modifies his extremist views.

The Conservative Party, then, has achieved the goal of neutralizing its complement, the Liberal Party. The result should be to liberate the Republican Party from the leftward tug that over the years has contributed so heavily to the national Republican anemia. It is important however, even while congratulating the Conservative Party of New York, to warn against the foundation of local conservative parties around the nation. In New York the situation, on account of the Liberal Party, has been unique. Elsewhere, the conservatives have opportunities to fight within the Republican Party to keep it honest. The leaders of the Conservative Party of New York have no desire to challenge the Republican Party nationally. Indeed, provided local Republican leaders give them so much as a nod, the Conservatives are prepared to make a little symbiosis together, even as the Libs and Dems have done over the years.

Here Lies Integration

Integration, watchword of a decade, is a) dying or b) dead, depending on which civil rights leader is testifying at the moment; and the fact is either a) alarming or b) satisfying, again depending on whether it is Roy Wilkins or Floyd McKissick who is scaring the bejeezus out of some Senate subcom-

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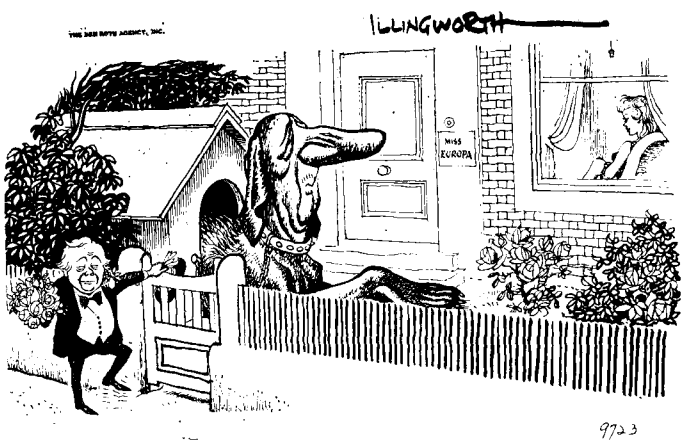
mittee. The schism in Negro leadership ranks is profound. The panic of the senators attests to a confusion equally profound about what is to be the direction of the civil rights movement now that all has been done that can be done in the way of legislation, dramatization, and judicial decree. Integration has come to be a habit; we think it, talk it, give it money, blow it little kisses—and all the time, Floyd McKissick is now telling us, Negroes were only stringing alone because they were "afraid to offend the white man."

Presumably it would be of some use to know how Integration died, of natural causes or foul play? An angry Bobby Kennedy has suggested that Black Power advocates have committed the latter; so has Bayard Rustin, rather more coolly. But until now what no one except a few experts like Ernest van den Haag, Daniel Moynihan and Oscar Handlin have pointed out is that the doom of integration lay very probably in its manifest inutility to the needs of the American Negro. Now prominent Negroes are carrying on the theme, from their own point of view to be sure. Says McKissick: ". . . total reliance on integration . . . amounts to reliance on acceptance by the white man." Kenneth Clark, who formulated much of the rationale (integration equals excellence in education) behind *Brown* vs. *Board of Education*, recently told the NAACP that he no longer believed it was true. In countless confrontations around the country, integration—particularly school integration—is quietly perishing as a goal in American life.

It is still not the fashion to say so, of course. The NAACP depends and to a large degree survives on the will of the white population to grant extended accommodations to the Negro within the established order. And revolutionaries such as Bayard Rustin continue to see in integration a means of eliminating poverty and transforming middle class America. What Rustin also sees, the phrase "black power" having been launched on a wave of violence and vengefulness, is that godawful public relations have very likely banished all hope of the "serious alternative to integration" of which McKissick speaks.



Illingworth—Daily Mail

But the Black Power folk, not all of whom are street-corner agitators, deserve to be heard. They are holding that the Negro must cease trying to please the white man and please himself, must control his own schools, his own businesses, his own way of life, his own destiny. It is a misfortune that McKissick, the movement's principal spokesman, has proven strategically incompetent at a time when explicit instructions about ways and means should have been going forth; a misfortune, too, that he is continually and irrelevantly driven to fanaticize about Vietnam ("the first thing we could do," he says, "is stop the war, a $10 billion error"). On the other hand, all that other Negro leaders are doing is shaking the money tree (the Freedom Budget is now $185 billion), while McKissick's call, heretical in this context, for "self-employment in the ghettoes" has its own powerful logic. At the least it has annoyed all the right people and broken up the monolithic sentiment of an era; at the most it has given the Negro people something to work with unbidden by either Bobby Kennedy or Elijah Muhammed.

The Bugging

The plot thickens. For one thing, those who in the past have opposed J. Edgar Hoover are rushing forward—without, many of them, giving any consideration at all to the evidence at hand—to side with Robert Kennedy in the current contest as to which of the two men is to be believed, the dangerous ground rules being, in this case, one or the other, but not both.

Take Mr. Murray Kempton, of the *New Republic* and the *New York Post*. Mr. Kempton can't stand the FBI because the FBI can't stand Communists, and Communists are like Helen Gurley Flynn, whose face belongs on American pie-mixes. Kempton cryptographers will know exactly what we mean; others will have to take our word for it that Mr. Kempton is absolutely and undeviatingly loyal in his disapproval of anyone engaged in concerning himself with the internal security: whence the source, if not the coloration, of his special dislike for J. Edgar Hoover. In the most maladroit analysis of the season, Mr. Kempton writes that "for twenty years we have robed as our chief judge of loyalty to the nation a man notably incapable of personal loyalty. When Hoover is in trouble, he will turn in anybody except whoever happens to be President at the moment. Former Presidents are no exception; in 1953 Hoover testified to the House Un-American Activities Committee that Harry Truman had promoted a government employee even after he 'knew' from FBI reports that the man was a Communist agent."

From such analysis one supposes that we must dis-

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trust Mr. Hoover because he will tell the truth when called upon to do so, even if the truth is at the expense of a former attorney general or a President of the United States. Some call that treason . . . But then some go to Kempton for thought, which is like heading south when in search of the North Pole. And Mr. Kempton is not alone, though his alembic captures the subtlest rays of confusion. He is supported by others, who rail at Mr. Hoover and clamor (as in the case of Mr. James Wechsler of New York) to have him fired, and go on to imply that if he is not, why that is evidence that President Johnson is behind-it-all, pressing his end of the vendetta; or that J. Edgar Hoover is seeking out means to punish Bobby Kennedy for his valiant stand on civil rights. Such are the passions, and thus irrational, that rage over the controversy.

A few voices come through asking, softly but stubbornly, the relevant questions. They are: how much bugging is going on, and what are the effective limits of the powers of the Attorney General and the courts in the matter? If John knows James and James knows Frank Costello, do John's conversations with James get tapped? Or to go one step closer to the heat, do James' conversations with Costello get tapped? But surely that is inevitable, since if Costello is to be tapped and he is other than a soliloquist, he must be tapped while talking to *somebody*. And isn't it often beyond the limits of human endurance to suppress the knowledge of what one discovers about the delinquencies of James—and of John—when in the course of listening to Frank, one comes across the venial sins of his friends?

Last Wednesday the news was published of the arrest of a young lady who thought, in behalf of herself, her lover, and an accomplice, to enhance their common fortunes by $36,000 by the simple expedient of pretending to have drowned accidentally last summer. The police and the insurance company suspected that the lady lived, went to a judge and got his permission to tap the lover's phone, and sure enough the lady called in from her hiding place in the suburbs to whisper a Happy Thanksgiving to her Romeo. The conversation was recorded, the calling number instantly tracked down, the body resurrected, and the insurance company saved $36,000. A success story—with, however, disturbing implications. Here is the use of a wire tap other than for reasons of national security or in order to prevent violence. Mr. James Reston reveals that the telephone of Dr. Martin Luther King was tapped during Selma, so that the authorities might know just how riotous were his intentions.

Mr. Hoover's loyalty to his job is a monument of civil rectitude, and for that reason he is loth to make recommendations that have the effect of attaching him to fine and controversial value judgments. But he should step forward at this point and divulge his own recommendations concerning desirable and undesirable eavesdropping. The discussion should outlast the controversy over whether Bobby knew of the existence of this or that bug. For instance, would it be licit to bug a conversation between Mr. Kennedy, Attorney General, and Mr. Hoover, Director of the Bureau, which recorded the former's enthusiastic assent to the use of the bug?

Season's Greetings

The American Civil Liberties Union of Greater Cleveland says the singing of Christmas carols in public schools may be a violation of the principle of separation of church and state. Associated Press

The logic's indisputable:
With prayer anathematized, to sing
A carol in a public school
Is *obviously* worshiping.
The public school is meant to be
A pluralistic citadel.
We mustn't threaten tiny tots
With echoes of Emmanuel.
Therefore, eschew the sacred song;
(The Principal abhors a row).
Sing "Rudolph," if you must, and say
An Xmas prayer for Harold Howe.

W. H. von Dreele

Carving up the Universe

The United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space has produced a final draft of a Treaty hailed by President Johnson as a magnificent achievement, soon to be ratified by Washington and Moscow, open to ratification and assent by any nation, and as full of holes as a deposed African politician.

"Military maneuvers on celestial bodies shall be forbidden" (Article 4). They may very well be deplored, but how forbidden? It is even possible that such a provision might serve as a conduit to import war to this earth because of a disagreement on the yon side of Betel-juice. Before signing the treaty, A and B can slug it out on Mars in handsome isolation. After the treaty, their battle is automatically extended to earth. There is no provision in the treaty for "containing" war in outer space. The earth is, by this law, apparently involved immediately.

Astronauts will be regarded "as envoys of mankind in outer space" (Article 5). Regarded as such by Martians? By Trobriand Islanders in outer space?

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By Russian secret service agents in Siberia? Why treat astronauts better than other citizens? If the Soviets think nothing of kidnaping, grilling, and murdering American businessmen, why expect them to treat highly important astronauts with kid gloves?

If any signatory nation thinks another nation is planning a military coup in outer space, the treaty provides that it "may request consultation." That is the only sanction mentioned. And the permission to request consultation existed before the treaty was composed. In what way is this impotent and pleonastic irrelevancy a great achievement?

Every signatory nation must announce to U Thant and to all other signatories "the nature, conduct, locations and results" of all its activities in space (Article 11). The better to develop the astral skills of the Maldives? Inform Moscow of latest scientific advances . . .? *Cui* damn *bono*?

"All stations, installations, equipment and space vehicles on the moon and other celestial bodies shall be open to representatives of other states parties to the treaty on a basis of reciprocity" (Article 12). Albania grants us permission to examine her meteorological station on Jupiter, and asks in return that we open our doors to her on the moon.

"Outer space, including the moon, and other celestial bodies, is not subject to national appropriation by claim of sovereignty by means of use or occupation, or by any other means" (Article 2). This could cause no end of trouble. There being no "sovereignty" on the moon, say, then why not ask Russia to get off? On what grounds could Russia insist on staying? Or: there being no "national" sovereignty, how about "personal" sovereignty, i.e. private ownership?

Before everyone gets lost in admiration for the slick way in which all of the universe has been ladled out into the common trough, it is well to ask if this treaty mightn't, after all, create problems where there were none before, ensnare the earth in other planets' quarrels, confuse man's sense of territory and property and just claim—and allow the Communists to inspect our most advanced astronautical equipment.

Rev. Powell Sees It Through

Question: Is Adam Clayton Powell Jr. a resident of New York City? Answer: It depends what you mean by "resident." Q. Ohfrgawdsakes, we mean does he LIVE in New York. A. You confuse "resident" with "domiciliary," which you are perfectly free to do, only the law does not, and it is the law that Mr. Powell is up against. Q. What we mean to say is, can a guy who is afraid to enter his own constituency for fear of being spotted and taken to jail, claim to be a resident of that constituency? A. He can claim to have a domicile there. The question of residency is properly brought before the Board of Elections at the time a man is running for office, and therefore there is nothing that New York law can do until 1968 to disconnect Powell from Harlem. And who knows, by 1968 he may very well have purged his contempt by paying off the woman he called a bagwoman. Q. Can Congress do anything about it? A. Yes, and indeed was specifically reminded by a New York judge that it had the responsibility. Congress makes its own rules, and if it should rule that Powell's presence is incongruous beyond the point of endurance, that the representative of the people of Harlem should be de facto barred from Harlem, why it *could* refuse to seat him. Q. What would happen then? A. It would refuse, and refuse, and refuse, and . . .

Stanley K. Hornbeck, R I P

Dr. Stanley Hornbeck, grown old and portly but with mind and wit unimpaired, was well known to conservatives on the eastern coastline, particularly to those who have opposed the admission of Red China into the United Nations, or any other aspect of the Two Chinas policy. Dr. Hornbeck, who died last week at 83, was our ambassador to the Netherlands, and after that, and before, head of the State Department's Division of Far Eastern Affairs. There his counsel was regularly discarded in favor of the Institute of Pacific Relations', even though Hornbeck had spent years in China teaching, and, as a doctor of philosophy from the University of Wisconsin and a Rhodes scholar, had no reason to feel underprivileged moving among the academic types who discovered all by themselves that Mao Tse-tung was all about a new way to grow crops. But his steadfastness notwithstanding, there was nothing that could make Dr. Hornbeck gloomy, let alone morose. He had the subjective optimism that is the saving grace of profound men who live in this accursed century.

Erratum: In our issue of November 15 (p. 1141) in describing a lawsuit brought in Mamaroneck, New York, we erroneously listed the Anti-Defamation League as one of the sponsors of the plaintiff. Such was the impression given to us by the defendant, who on going back to his files finds that the sponsor in question was not the Anti-Defamation League but the American Jewish Congress.

Erratum: In the Nov. 29 issue we mistakenly referred (p. 1193) to Prof. Guy Davenport as a Yugoslavian melonophagite. The distinguished translator of Sappho insists he is a melopeponophagite, and astimmistos at that. Waal, some say potayto, some say potahto.

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Letters on Rhodesia

Storm Signals on Rhodesia

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

London. I have to confess that when, after a period of breath-holding suspense, we heard that the Rhodesian cabinet had rejected Harold Wilson's terms, my instinctive reaction was one of relief and exhilaration—rather similar to my reaction, a few years ago, when General de Gaulle slammed the door of the Common Market in Britain's face. Such a feeling was, no doubt, very reprehensible in both cases; it may well be rationally desirable for Britain to go into Europe (though personally I should prefer an Atlantic Free Trade Area) and a satisfactory settlement of the Rhodesian question must obviously be desired by all men of good will.

And yet how hateful it would have been to see Ian Smith, that brave and honorable man, forced to a surrender—and any settlement acceptable to the British government would inevitably *be* a surrender—by Harold Wilson, whom I have no hesitation in proclaiming the most dishonest and despicable Prime Minister Britain has suffered, at least in this century.

Quite apart from the particular rights and wrongs of the Rhodesian government's policies (and I happen to think them mostly justified), it has been immensely heartening to see someone fighting back, someone not giving in to Mr. Wilson's bullying, to the tribal cries of the Afro-Asian bloc, to "world opinion" and "the trend of the times."

I'm by no means alone among the inhabitants of the British Isles in holding this view: but, from what the politicians of all parties are saying, from what one reads in the newspapers and hears on television, you might think I was.

Quite a lot of people in Britain are not just weary of the dispute but wholly in favor of Ian Smith. I can testify to this fact from my own acquaintance. And I saw it exemplified recently at a conference of the right-wing Monday Club, held in Lord Salisbury's Elizabethan home, Hatfield House, beneath Napoleon's Eagles, which the Duke of Wellington gave to one of Salisbury's ancestors; passionate support for Rhodesia was the only sentiment, except detestation of Harold Wilson, uniting everyone present. And indeed it has been evident throughout the past year from the number of cars in London which carry "Support Rhodesia" stickers; I have seen only one with an anti-Rhodesian sticker.

These people have gone completely unrepresented in the media of mass communication. Some newspapers, notably the *Guardian* and the *Observer,* are quite hysterically anti-Rhodesian. A few—the *Express,* the *Telegraph,* the *Sketch*—are, as one might say, anti-anti-Rhodesian, offering, one of their editors dryly explained, "all aid short of help."

Times, BBC Pompous

The *Times* and the BBC have been at their pompous worst. For a ludicrous day or so the *Times* took to describing Ian Smith as "the former Prime Minister of Rhodesia," until this was seen to be too absurd even for the *Times.* And the Foreign Office ordered the BBC to talk about "IDI" (standing for Illegal Declaration of Independence) instead of UDI: but as no one would have understood what it meant, the phrase was then dropped from the news bulletins altogether.

There was a continual flood, all the while, of official propaganda, unparalleled since World War II in its smugness and deliberate slanting. Much of it was sheer fairy tale, cloud-cuckooland stuff about the crushing effect of sanctions, splits in the Rhodesian cabinet, and the likelihood of the rebellion's being over (as Mr. Wilson said last January) "in weeks rather than months."

The propaganda blanket has concealed the true state of British public opinion; which is a pity, since the state of British public opinion is itself an important factor—though, admittedly, very difficult to estimate.

One facet of opinion was manifested by a procession of bearded and bejeaned students which straggled down Fleet Street the other day, carrying placards which said "Smith Out" and "Wilson, show some guts": and by a poster which proclaimed "PSYCHODELPHIA VERSUS IAN SMITH. Great Rave-Up . . . poets, underground movies, folk-singers, insanity, steel bands, etc. Drag optional, bring your own ecstatogenic substances and that . . ."

Such aberrations are instructive in their way, but not exactly representative. More interesting was a public opinion survey reported in the *Observer.* Less than one in ten of those polled "cared deeply" about the Rhodesian problem. Only 6 per cent thought troops should be used to enforce British policy. More than half disapproved of handing the affair over to the United Nations, a third said that Africans would be incapable of running Rhodesia in the next thirty years, and 55 per cent thought Rhodesia should get independence under Mr. Smith's government. Asked how much they would care if some African countries left the Commonwealth over Rhodesia, 40 per cent replied "not at all," 30 per cent "not much," 17 per cent "quite a lot" and only 7 per cent "very much."

These results coincide pretty well with my own impressions. My guess would be that there is a smallish, but highly articulate, group of dedicated Liberals; a larger, but less influential, group of keen pro-Rhodesians; and, among the population as a whole, a mild preference for white Rhodesians over black nationalists.

The rank-and-file of the Tory Party is, I'm sure, overwhelmingly pro-Rhodesian, but the Tory leaders have been feeble beyond belief. Their position is, of course, difficult, since their own policies when in office, epitomized by Mr. Macmillan's "wind of change" speech, contributed to the break-up of the Rhodesian Federation and the current mess.

What has happened was quite predictable; I claim no special cleverness for having myself predicted it in these pages some five years ago. It flows from what Marxists would call "contradictions" of thought and policy. Which do we regard as more important, good government, or ma-

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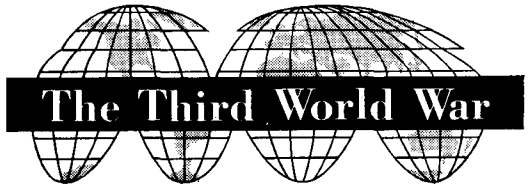
jority rule? Do we want a multiracial Rhodesia or a black Rhodesia? De we really believe that any system, any principles, could be acceptable to "all the people of Rhodesia," white and black, the politically active and those who ask only to be left alone? Could any principles, indeed, be acceptable both to Ian Smith and to Harold Wilson except in the vaguest terms?

I said here, just over a year ago, when Rhodesia first declared her independence, that it might have been a foolish and unnecessary thing to do, and the results might prove disastrous, but that, if I were a Rhodesian, I would have done the same thing and probably sooner. I see no reason to take any different view today. Of course the risks are fearful. Of course a Pandora's box of trouble may have been opened in southern Africa. But the experience of the past twelve months suggests that Rhodesia's capacity is survive is greater, not less, than it seemed to be then. I wonder, indeed, if, by promoting self-sufficiency and welding its people together in a mood of common defiance, siege conditions may not, in the end, considerably strengthen the white-ruled enclave of southern Africa.



JAMES BURNHAM

Pretoria's View

Pretoria. (By cable). Here, not Salisbury, is the key to Rhodesia's prospects. South African acceptance of UN sanctions would mean Rhodesia's economic collapse and capitulation within six months. (Pretoria's position here summarized, as confirmed by highest political-military levels.)

Burnham

1) Pretoria judges the Salisbury-London dispute to be internal and no threat to peace. It considers UN sanctions illegal under the Charter.

2) From the beginning it has had no official attitude toward the merits of the dispute. Unofficially it has urged a London-Salisbury deal. Pretoria had high hopes of the meeting on the British cruiser *Tiger*. It judges the breakdown after the agreement on six principles a diplomatic failure but feels that after Wilson insisted on the interim government joker, Salisbury's rejection was inevitable. Despite the turmoil Pretoria thinks a deal is still possible.

3) It will not join in sanctions. Either way it is ready to do business with anyone. It has refused a special role as Rhodesia's agent in the world market but has permitted South Africans to do business with Rhodesia in the South African market. Thus Rhodesian products have indirectly entered the world market and Rhodesia got the essential imports she needed.

4) South Africa processes imported petroleum in local refineries to make gasoline. This is now a South African product which anyone, including Rhodesians willing and able to buy it, may buy and transport out of the country. South Africans may buy Rhodesian products for their own use or processing or sale anywhere providing there is no concealment of the point of origin.

5) Pretoria is strict on the form these transactions take, and insists that they conform to normal commercial practices.

6) South Africa will continue to maintain this position whatever action the UN takes because it holds them to be illegal.

7) South Africa will claim that the expected French Security Council abstention on the sanctions vote is, in effect, a veto under the Charter clause requiring approval of such actions by all permanent members.

8) Intelligence sources here estimate that Rhodesia can hold out indefinitely granted the above, *if* Rhodesian whites are willing to accept a regression in their living standards to a level of ten years ago, and *if* Salisbury's security forces are able to maintain internal order.

9) UN sanctions against South Africa will not change this political position. Military analysts believe effective sanctions against South Africa are impossible. The political-economic coordination to make them effective is unachievable, they say. In addition, the cost of an effective blockade would be prohibitive.

10) South Africa accepts the military risk and potential economic damage UN sanctions could cause but believes that in the long run the threat would be greater from knuckling under.

11) Both the government and the opposition are puzzled and resentful at U.S. policy, with Arthur Goldberg becoming the prime villain. Even the sharpest critics of apartheid believe Washington is sacrificing the major strategic, economic and political interests of the U.S. and the West to internal politics, ideological obsessions and UN demagogy. They cite South Africa's record in supporting Vietnam, its active collaboration with the NASA and military satellite programs, expanding trade relations consistent with South Africa's alignment against the moves by the Communist bloc, and the history of South African contingents fighting alongside Americans in both World Wars and Korea. It is the general opinion that the extreme rhetoric of the current anti-South African campaign will have adverse internal effects here ending in strengthening the Hertzog-Donges Far Right and inhibiting the loosening tendencies indicated under the more pragmatic, less doctrinaire Prime Minister John Vorster.

12) It is the universal belief that the current crisis may damage many nations, but Britain the most. By failing to handle her own affairs, bowing to the African bloc and turning to the UN, Britain demonstrates her impotence and incompetence.

13) The old saying that "British politicians stub their toes on Africa" may soon apply to Harold Wilson.

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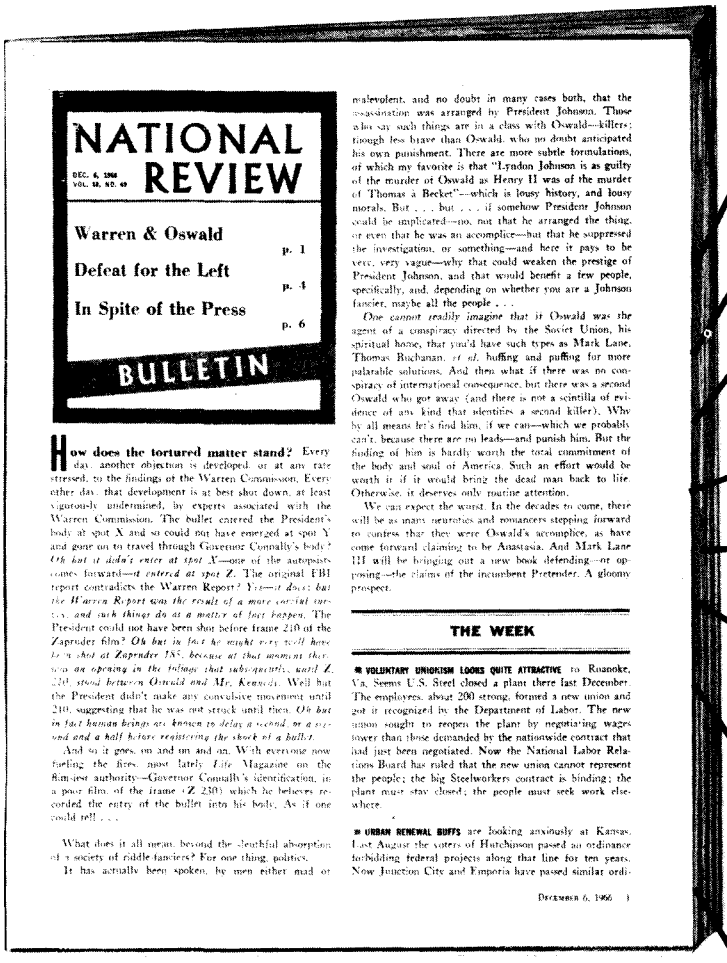

NATIONAL REVIEW

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Defeat for the Left p. 4

In Spite of the Press p. 6

BULLETIN

How does the tortured matter stand? Every day, another objection is developed or at any rate stressed, to the findings of the Warren Commission. Every other day that development is at best shot down, at least vigorously undermined, by experts associated with the Warren Commission. The bullet entered the President's body at spot X and so could not have emerged at spot Y and gone on to travel through Governor Connally's body? *Oh but it didn't enter at spot X*—one of the autopsists comes forward—*it entered at spot Z.* The original FBI report contradicts the Warren Report? *Yes—it does; but the Warren Report was the result of a more careful survey, and such things do at a matter of fact happen.* The President could not have been shot before frame 210 of the Zapruder film? *Oh but in fact he might very well have been shot at Zapruder 185, because at that moment there was an opening in the foliage that subsequently, until Z-210, stood between Oswald and Mr. Kennedy.* Well but the President didn't make any convulsive movement until 240, suggesting that he was not struck until then. *Oh but in fact human beings are known to delay a second, or a second and a half before registering the shock of a bullet.*

And so it goes, on and on and on. With everyone now hurling the fires most lately *Life* Magazine on the flimsiest authority—Governor Connally's identification, in a poor film, of the frame (Z 230) which he believes recorded the entry of the bullet into his body. As if one could tell! . . .

What does it all mean, beyond the doubtful absorption of a society of riddle fanciers? For one thing, politics. It has actually been spoken, by men either mad or malevolent, and no doubt in many cases both, that the assassination was arranged by President Johnson. Those who say such things are in a class with Oswald—killers; though less brave than Oswald, who no doubt anticipated his own punishment. There are more subtle formulations, of which my favorite is that "Lyndon Johnson is as guilty of the murder of Oswald as Henry II was of the murder of Thomas a Becket"—which is lousy history, and lousy morals. But . . . but . . . if somehow President Johnson could be implicated—no, not that he arranged the thing, or even that he was an accomplice—but that he suppressed the investigation, or something—and here it pays to be very, very vague—why that could weaken the prestige of President Johnson, and that would benefit a few people, specifically, and, depending on whether you are a Johnson fancier, maybe all the people . . .

One cannot readily imagine that if Oswald was the agent of a conspiracy directed by the Soviet Union, his spiritual home, that you'd have such types as Mark Lane, Thomas Buchanan, *et al.* huffing and puffing for more palatable solutions. And then what if there was no conspiracy of international consequence, but there was a second Oswald who got away (and there is not a scintilla of evidence of any kind that identifies a second killer). Why by all means let's find him, if we can—which we probably can't, because there are no leads—and punish him. But the finding of him is hardly worth the total commitment of the body and soul of America. Such an effort would be worth it if it would bring the dead man back to life. Otherwise, it deserves only routine attention.

We can expect the worst. In the decades to come, there will be as many neurotics and romancers stepping forward to confess that they were Oswald's accomplice, as have come forward claiming to be Anastasia. And Mark Lane III will be bringing out a new book defending—or opposing—the claims of the incumbent Pretender. A gloomy prospect.

THE WEEK

■ **VOLUNTARY UNIONISM LOOKS QUITE ATTRACTIVE** to Roanoke, Va., Seems U.S. Steel closed a plant there last December. The employees, about 200 strong, formed a new union and got it recognized by the Department of Labor. The new union sought to reopen the plant by negotiating wages lower than those demanded by the nationwide contract that had just been negotiated. Now the National Labor Relations Board has ruled that the new union cannot represent the people; the big Steelworkers contract is binding; the plant must stay closed; the people must seek work elsewhere.

■ **URBAN RENEWAL BUFFS** are looking anxiously at Kansas. Last August the voters of Hutchinson passed an ordinance forbidding federal projects along that line for ten years. Now Junction City and Emporia have passed similar ordi-

DECEMBER 6, 1966 1

A compact listing of the week's most significant news items—many "overlooked" in the nation's press;

2. ON THE LEFT:

A regular report on what the Left is up to, including private reports from authoritative sources here and abroad;

3. CAPITAL BULLETIN:

A provocative report by "Quincy," pseudonym for a top Washington correspondent who knows his way around the inner circles of government —that's why his news beats often appear as headline stories *weeks* after you've read them in the BULLETIN;

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A Christmas Sermon

The author looks at the sloppy sentimentalism that passes for goodwill among Christians today and warns a surfeit of goodwill can be harmful

AUBERON WAUGH

"Glory be to God in the highest and on earth peace, goodwill toward men."

I wonder how many eager young clergymen will use this as the text of their Christmas sermon, pointing out, with varying degrees of emphasis, its relevance to Vietnam, to the alleged European *détente*, to the plight of the underdeveloped nations and to the wildly misnamed "ecumenical" movement in the Church. Few, I fancy, will observe the order of precedence accorded to these amiable slogans. Yet the "multitude of the Heavenly host" must, at some committee stage, have agreed on a formula. Peace and goodwill should follow as a necessary consequence of the first activity; to tackle the business of implementing these proposals from the other end, and say that through the exercise of goodwill establishing peace on earth God will be glorified, is a syllogistic inversion comparable to saying that where agricultural fertilizer will increase the corn yield for peasants to eat, further eating by peasants must cause more corn to grow which will produce the fertilizer necessary for the whole process.

Giving Pleasurable

The fact is that an ever diminishing number of priests who have given thought to the matter actually believe in the objective existence of God, let alone in the divinity of Christ. Or, if they believe, their belief is a conscious act of the will rather than of perceptive reasoning. The principle of free choice in belief inevitably precludes any recourse to the tyrannies of logic. On these terms they can equally believe that African art is the highest expression of man's striving towards perfection, that Christ advocated a planned economy, that President Kennedy was murdered by a Portuguese secret agent and that Christianity has a lot to learn from the Vietcong. Everyone is entitled to his beliefs and we must respect them. We all need blankets to protect us from the cold. But few people are prepared to accept that their attitudes rely exclusively on an arbitrary choice, possibly made as the result of a traumatic experience in the womb. They like to think that they proceed from an indisputable premise by logical inferences to an inescapable conclusion.

If those priests who are about to extol the virtues of secular goodwill would analyze their product, they might discover that far from leading to world peace it leads almost inescapably in the opposite direction.

We must all start from the premise that peace is more desirable than war. Anyone who would dissent from that is so far outside the consensus of Christian and humanist thought that we can only respect his beliefs and pass him another blanket. A second premise I would like to suggest in this entirely secular argument is that the sensation of goodwill is pleasurable, as much to the giver as to the receiver. The pleasure to be derived from the exercise of goodwill might be weighed in some hypothetical scale of satisfaction units and compared to the pleasure derived from other sources: reading a good novel, buying an extra packet of chocolate-flavored potato chips, sexual intercourse and possession of a large bank balance. This is not as far-fetched as it might sound, and in fact it corresponds exactly to the calculation which everyone makes when confronted by an Oxfam appeal. Would a donation of five dollars represent a net gain or net loss in pleasure when the enjoyable sensation of disinterested sacrifice is balanced against the extra chocolate-coated potato chips (or raspberry-flavored peanut butter) which we are denying ourselves? It is absurd to say that we all give as much as we can afford. We none of us do, and even if we did, beggaring ourselves in the process, it would merely represent an idiosyncratic pattern of satisfaction-response.

An extremely well-known and rich London merchant attended the funeral of a business acquaintance. Afterwards, the mourners took pains to say what a great gap had been left in their lives, how they were inconsolable in their sorrow and what a dreadful business it all was. Eventually, the merchant went round to each mourner and said: "I am sorry twenty pounds. How sorry are you?" The same principle applies at Greek weddings, where guests pin money on the bride: I am glad ten dollars. How glad are you?

When we hear somebody urging us to promote peace and goodwill, both of which we actually favor, it is exactly as if we were being urged to drink more wine, which we also like. There is no suggestion that any sacrifice will be entailed. It would be very poor salesmanship if there were. Advertisers do not usually say, "Deny yourselves a holiday abroad and buy this motor car." What price are we being asked to pay?

The Price of Goodwill

Peace is something which we all have except that minority of people who are at present engaged in hostilities. If we are asked to make sacrifices in order that they, too, should enjoy our privileged state, then the price must clearly come out of the goodwill fund. But what is the price? *Will it represent a satisfaction-gain or a satisfaction-loss? In effect, we are not told.*

The theology of godlessness has never been worked out satisfactorily, partly because people are still so excited to have arrived at the conclusion that God is dead that they have neither the time nor the inclination

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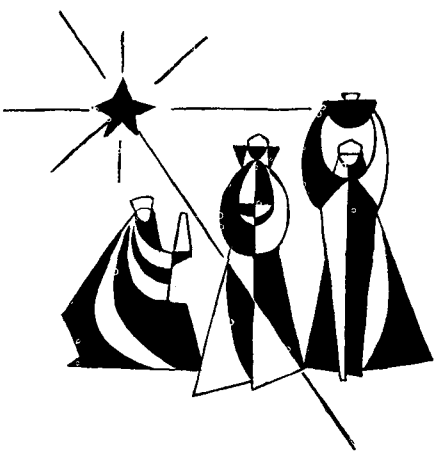
to ponder the logical consequence of their belief. We are offered the material welfare of underdeveloped people as the *summum bonum*. Why should this be so? Because we, as members of the developed world, would derive greater satisfaction from our lives in the knowledge that the rest of the world is equally prosperous? But if the dissatisfaction caused by any sacrifice necessary to bring this state of affairs about was greater than the sanctimonious pleasure to be derived from contemplating it, there would be no deal.

Only one morality is offered outside the Christian and Jewish concept of that which is pleasing to God —the Benthamite proposition borrowed from Hutcheson's "That action is best which procures the greatest happiness for the greatest numbers." But it completely fails to explain why anybody who happens to belong to the minority which fails to benefit should subscribe to this belief. And the Western world is permanently in the minority. Logically, there can be no universal morality outside a God-given one other than the individual's approach: "That action is best which procures for me the maximum satisfaction and entails the least inconvenience." All social morality is built on that. A does not rob B because it would make his own property more vulnerable to C's depredations; also A does not whip B because he does not happen to enjoy the spectacle of human suffering; A is kind to B for the same reason that he buys himself a new car—it gives him pleasure to do so.

Nobody can deny that there is a propensity for goodwill in most human beings. Some satisfy their leanings in this direction by keeping a pet animal and lavishing rich foods and gifts on it; others have children; go to church; give money to charity. When the Church is urging us to more goodwill it is urging us to do no more than we want to do—have a good time. As with most pleasures, there are dangers of over-indulgence. Give a child enough sweets and he will be sick. Give a beggar enough money, and he will never do another stroke of work, or he will drink himself blind and murder his mother. Give an African economy enough unearned aid and it will fall apart at the seams. In this matter we must distinguish firmly between the goodwill which God feels towards men, and which good Christians can only emulate by bringing themselves closer to God, and selfish goodwill, the base currency with which we prop up our own and each other's self-esteem. The burden of my song is that the Christian Church has lost all sight of the distinction.

Perverted idealism is only slightly preferable to perverted appetites in any case, but if we are to diagnose the present ills, I think they belong to the latter category. A case could be made for saying that when President Kennedy allowed American grain to be sold to Russia he was motivated by humanitarian concern for the suffering Russians. True goodwill would have allowed them to continue suffering. The reason for their suffering lay in the oppressive and incompetent agricultural system which is decreed by Communist doctrine. By alleviating the harsh consequences of that doctrine, he encouraged it to survive. But I doubt whether his motives were humanitarian at all. There were and still are many hungrier people in Asia, to whose future this kind of largesse would have been less harmful. Only an idiot would suppose that by bolstering a Communist regime he could make it less Communist, and less of a danger to world peace. This act of goodwill was entirely self-indulgent.



Perverted idealism operates through the deliberate contrivance of Communist agents, convincing our gullible youth that the kindest thing it can do for the Vietnamese is to agitate for the American withdrawal. Perverted appetite is our own gratuitous contribution to this effort. It is one thing to turn the other cheek, but when you start getting a kick out of turning the other cheek it is time to see an analyst.

Goodwill demands that you must love the sinner while hating the sin. Yet we hear of a "dialogue" between Communism and Christianity. We are told that we should trade with Communist countries to promote goodwill. Apart from the economic fact that there can be no trade in any meaningful sense between a free economy and a controlled economy — anti-dumping laws can have no relevance where export prices are fixed without reference to cost, where virtual slave labor is employed, and where the exchange rates are some figment of a bureaucrat's fancy; import quotas are rigidly applied and competition is non-existent—it is surely the very reverse of goodwill, indeed evidence of an almost insane malice to underwrite a process which keeps half the world enslaved. In this matter we are in effect trying to protect our own skins, in the doubtful belief that a fat Communist is less dangerous than a thin one, while simultaneously indulging our distorted appetite for the consumer product which is sold under the misleading label of goodwill. The first error falls outside the scope of this sermon. Apply it logically, when divorced from the second, and one should plainly devote all foreign aid to the Communist countries. The second error is so widely canvassed by Christian clergymen that it would need a second Counter Reformation to expunge.

Where has the Church gone wrong? The only logical explanation lies in a declining belief in the Deity. It is nothing new that self-interest should be confused with what is right. The two are often identifiable, in any case. No doubt history can show other occasions when a mistaken idea of self-interest, in fact inimical to the interests of either party, is confused with a mistaken idea of what is right, in fact profoundly mischievous and evil, and thus promoted. But it surely is a new development, that a whole nation's idealism, intelligence and established religion can line up behind a movement which is selfish and dishonorable in its motivation, and may well be disastrous in its consequences.

Christian thought, under the influence of modern weapons, has ruled out the idea of war as a means of pro-

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moting the goodwill we feel towards people living under Communism. It is almost impossible to dissent from that verdict, but it does not alter by one jot the nature of true goodwill. Communist idealists—if such can still exist in the Soviet Union or in modern China — undoubtedly feel that the purest expression of their goodwill to the exploited masses of Western Europe and North America would be to shackle them inside an incompetent and discredited economic system. It is true that in Soviet Russia at least there are signs that this idealism is on the wane. If we allow them to continue tyrannizing one third of the earth's surface as incompetently as they choose, they will allow their standard of goodwill towards us to slip until it approximates the counterfeit article being purveyed by large sections of the Christian Church. But that is no reason to diminish the pressure of our own goodwill which is God-given, whereas theirs is the product of historical and economic arguments which have been proved false. At other times of the year, perhaps, Christians might be excused from doing battle with the fashionable myth of "peaceful coexistence." But on Christmas Day at least they should denounce it for the craven hypocrisy it is.

The secular perversion of the Christian message of peace is already too familiar to readers of these pages. America and the American taxpayer have almost single-handedly maintained the balance of peace for 21 years. Vietnam is the costly safety valve on Chinese expansion. One form of idealism might easily argue that Peace (with a capital P in the Communist sense) is best served by removing the safety valve. But when we hear prayers for peace in Vietnam from countless "progressive" pulpits at Christmas they will not be, except in a very few cases, reflections of this perverted idealism. They will be catering to the congregation's appetite, already sated and jaded beyond recognition, for self-congratulatory expressions of bogus goodfellowship.

It is the measure of religion's self-doubt that it invariably treats thermonuclear weaponry as the invention of a pagan science, and something to be deplored. True religion would see this development as God's gift to a world in sore need. Logic and nature decree that it should end war as a means of promoting justice; thus leaving a huge variety of peaceful means by which justice can triumph. Yet lacking the strength of its convictions, or more likely lacking any convictions from which it might draw strength, the Church has consistently refused to sanction freedom movements in Eastern Europe, and now allows a vociferous and articulate minority to advocate compromise with Communism. What is the most just, sane and mature compromise between suicide and survival?

Parallel to the widespread perversion of goodwill which seems to constitute the greater part of the Christian message in this decade comes the perversion of love. We are all familiar with the commercialized, teen-age product. The clerical perversion, I think, goes deeper. The proposition that "God is Love" seems at first sight so obvious as to be tautologous. Superimpose on it this definition: "Love is a spurious, make-believe type of good-fellowship which concerns itself exclusively with the material welfare of human beings"; and you have the makings of a twentieth-century creed: "I believe in one Goodfellowship, source of all material welfare." Fine, but what in God's name has this to do with Christmas?

Ecumenism

I am more concerned with the definition of true goodwill than I am to discuss whether it finds accurate expression in foreign aid programs. Professor Bauer, of the London School of Economics, has argued pretty conclusively that it does not. Unearned aid, whether in the form of urgently-needed consumer goods or in the form of interest-reduced long-term investment, is almost invariably deleterious to the recipient's economy. Clearly an exception must be made in the case of sudden famine but, by and large, where it is a question of encouraging underdeveloped peoples on the road which leads to Detroit and Coventry, market pressures are the only effective ones. On the whole, I am prepared to accept that aid is motivated as much by a questionable response to true goodwill as it is by a mistaken interpretation of self-interest or by a perverse self-indulgence. But our clergy has little interest in the motives; only in the end-product.

The perversion of goodwill into good-fellowship is nowhere more evident than in the ecumenical movement. Ecumenical councils were so called because they were attended by representatives from the entire Church. Ecumenism is a neologism which means nothing, but might be interpreted as a belief in the universality of one church or as a system for expressing that universality. Instead, it has come to embrace anything that undermines universality. In the dialogue between Catholics and Protestants, the best manner for either side to show goodwill would be to point out the errors in the other side's reasoning or presuppositions. If they are not amenable to reason, either through stupidity or malice, the alternatives are to beat them over the head until they see the light or to ignore them and abandon any idea of further ecumenism. But the current idea, as far as it can be seen, is that by compounding right and wrong and dividing the difference in a spirit of good-fellowship, they can somehow relieve the plight of the underdeveloped nations which is the *summum bonum*.

The *raison d'être* of Protestantism is that it differs from Catholic belief or practice in some essential point. Individual Protestants may be ecumenicized but Protestantism as such is by definition incapable of it.

I am unqualified to speak about the Episcopalian or Baptist churches in America, but in England we have a curious institution called the Church of England. It was founded to assist the dynastic pretensions of a syphilitic, and later insane, tyrant called Henry VIII. Traditionally, its strength has always lain in the fact that on any moral or political issue it can produce such a wide divergence of opinion that nobody—from the Pope to Mao Tse-tung—can say with any confidence that he is not an Anglican. Its weaknesses are that nobody pays much attention to it and very few people attend its functions. It is extremely rich, possessing $960 million in interest-yielding investments alone and much more in property. It has never hurt a fly in the last 150 years, and seems ripe for bogus expressions

(Continued on p. 1338)

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The Importance of Reagan

PRINCIPLES & HERESIES

Frank S. Meyer

THE 1966 elections are over. The ommentators have commented. The oad is open to '68. What are the ortents and prospects for conserva- ism?

One thing is clear: November was victory for the Republican Party. But what kind of Republican Party? Here the uguries are ob- cure. By and arge, Liberal ommentators lrew one set of onclusions, con- ervative com- ientators another.

Meyer

Objectively, it was probably a dead ieat: On the conservative side, the mashing Reagan success and the lection of a number of other guber- iatorial and senatorial candidates, put ogether with the strong conservative omplexion of the new Republican ongressional delegation; on the Lib- ral side, victory (outside of Cali- ornia) in the dramatic races—Rocke- eller, Romney, Percy, Brooke.

The conclusion that would seem to merge most clearly has been almost otally obscured in a political gen- ration so obsessed with image that t is oblivious of principle. Liberal Republicans and conservative Re- ublicans both have done well; the Republican prospects for 1968 look a reat deal brighter; but there is no ndication whatever that those pros- ects would be dimmed if the candi- ate were a conservative or enhanced the candidate were a Liberal. The ssue is back where it ought to be, fter two years of Republican breast- eating and flesh-pottery: not "who an possibly win"? but "what kind of an do we want to elect"?

Of course, this is the last thing the edia discuss. All the talk is of omney, Percy, Hatfield. Even the uckley-shattered image of Lindsay is being paraded again. As the elec- tion returns are seriously studied, the myth of '64—that conservative Republicans cannot win—is bound to be dissipated. It is particularly important that those conservatives who have over the past year or so allowed themselves to succumb to that myth now have objective evidence to counter it—and to dispel a certain willingness that has been creeping in to settle for any candidate who could win for the Republican Party, no matter how little he would achieve for conservative principle.

I FIND it rather hard to understand this perennial tendency in conservative circles to regard the Republican Party as somehow a good in itself. Of course conservatives want to preserve the two-party system, but the Republican Party is clearly not dying. The alternative to a continuing effort to build towards victory on the basis of conservative principle can only be to put into office an Administration which will differ from the Democratic Administration simply in that Republicans instead of Democrats will be expanding the coercive welfare state. (What is there about Albany these past years that is preferable to Washington?)

As far as foreign policy is concerned, indeed, the position taken before and during the recent campaign by many Republican "moderates" represented so opportunist an effort to gain votes by playing politics at the expense of national security that President Johnson's stand on Vietnam made him seem, to this degree, closer to conservative principle. It happened all over the country, with Liberal Republican candidates making insidious passes at the dove vote, but perhaps most repulsively in Illinois, where instead of recognizing Senator Douglas' magnificent anti-Communist record and taking the issue out of the campaign, the Republican candidate's ambiguous stand was calculated to capitalize on dove dissatisfaction with Douglas' support of Vietnam policy. This sort of pandering for votes is the hallmark of Liberal Republicanism. It is paralleled in domestic matters by the calls that issue periodically from Rockefeller, Romney, Percy, Lindsay, and miscellaneous Liberal Republican senators for a "positive" program of *Republican* big government.

A REPUBLICAN PARTY inspired by Liberal and opportunist policies is not worth an ounce of conservative support. But this is the kind of Republican Party we will have in 1968 if conservatives accept Republican victory in the election as taking precedence over winning the Republican Party for a conservative program and a conservative candidate. One can admire and share the abhorrence of the American two-party system for narrowly defined ideological positions without falling into the opposite extreme of subordinating principle to meaningless electoral victory. For American conservatives today there can be no political substitute for the continuing effort to win a conservative victory. Not only do their principles demand it, but if responsible conservative leadership puts a Republican *mystique* above conservative principle, it is in danger of handing over a large section of the growing conservative electorate to George Wallace, whose right-wing demagogy masks socialist welfare practice.

What does this require in practical terms? A candidate who can stir conservative enthusiasm and behind whom a campaign for delegates to the Republican National Convention of 1968 can be launched. By the principled positions he has taken, and by his proven ability as a campaigner, demonstrated both in 1964 and this year in California, Ronald Reagan, should he prove the governor he promises to be, qualifies for this role. California would seem to prove that against Johnson, Humphrey or Kennedy, he would be as strong a candidate as the Republican Party can field. In any event, a solid body of conservative delegates pledged to Reagan would assure that no Liberal could be nominated, and that, if it became necessary to accept a man of the center like Nixon or Rhodes, he would be strongly influenced in the conservative direction.

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The End of the Affair

When the National Democratic Party polled 8 per cent in a provincial election, the world shivered at the prospect of a Nazi revival – and a government fell

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Though Germany is indubitably the most solid and most stable society on the Continent, it is beginning to show the psychological and political stresses of a nation that, 21 years after the end of the war, is still being denied its sovereignty. While no European nation can match Germany's adaptability, traces of a new, or rather old, *ressentiment* are again noticeable in this country. The NPD, cause of all the fuss and sweat in Liberal editorial offices throughout the world, got less than 8 per cent of the Bavarian vote—which is about as much as other forlorn, embittered, slightly ludicrous little groups of professional Teutons have mustered, without interruption, since 1945. But, this time, they are unified in something that begins to look like a political party. And it is indeed advisable to investigate which wind of history has blown the dry leaves together.

The unifying force, I am afraid, was anti-Americanism. I know the type of people who form the NPD from innumerable encounters in innumerable debates throughout the country. They are about as neo-Nazi as Senator Javits is neo-socialist — which means to say, a little, but not much. Though one hears fewer anti-Semitic remarks in Munich beer cellars probably than in New York's Racquet Tennis & Club, Nazism remains an important question in Germany. And how could it not? Of the thirty million Germans who were organized Nazis until 1945, about fifteen million are still alive, not all of whom could have been mere opportunists. At least 10 per cent must have been true believers. There must then be one or two million Germans still alive who were at least formerly convinced Nazis. Occasionally, I meet such Germans in my lecture audiences: acidulous, gloomy people, scarred by rancor and frustration, incapable of a smile. And some such people, no doubt, can be found in the NPD. But they signify nothing. They are barely tolerated.

What shapes the NPD is an entirely different sentiment. In and around this new party rally Germans, many surprisingly under thirty, who are getting tired of belonging to a third-rate nation. What they refuse to understand is why a nation that has all the earmarks and sinews of a first-rate power should be incapable of acting like one. In their search for an answer to this riddle, made even more enigmatic by the desperately Liberal German press, these befuddled people stumble onto the most visible fact of German life: that America, so plainly responsible for Germany, has failed her. Kennedy's *"ich bin ein Berliner"* is still in every German's ear—and there is a bitter taste in every German's mouth. Fo he can no longer believe what h has heard.

Anti-Americanism, to be sure, i the folly of all Europe, as Charle de Gaulle has so effectively demonstrated. But in Germany, which fo the last ten years has been encourage to consider herself a special ward, i not ally, of the United States, th apparent collapse of American leader ship on the Continent contains all th shock of a true "moment of truth" "My God, it's all been wrong!" Th NPD, in other words, is a preliminar gathering together of those German who brood over the unreliability o American support or protection.

Like all German brooding, it con tains elements of arbitrary vehemence Given the German predilection t suspect dark conspiracies everywhere

Beaton—Toronto Telegram

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ill too many Germans are swayed y the simplistic suspicion that the merican failure to retain a confi- ent posture in Europe is due, not) American confusion, but to Ameri- an ill-will. You and I know that ippmannism is a loss of American erve, but Germans are liable to be- eve that America is motivated by a ecret desire to humiliate Germany—) exploit, yes, but then to humiliate.

For example, the current craze, and ot only in the NPD, is the whisper bout "Germany's economic sell-out) America." The sober facts, of ourse, contradict the rumor. The to- il of American investments in Ger- any amounts to $1 billion—far less an 1 per cent of the total German vestment; and considerably less, not ly than American investments in anada (with one-third Germany's opulation), but considerably less an German investments in the nited States (which are cautiously stimated at around $4 billion). Far ore Volkswagens are sold in America an American-made Opels and Fords ı Germany. And America's *annual* ilitary expenditures in Germany are rger than the *total* American in- estment in German industry. In ort, American investment in Ger- any is merely a fraction of the capi- al the German economy most anxi- usly needs, and invites from abroad,) secure its normal rate of growth.

But never have sober facts stood in ıe way of resentful whispers, and the ne about "Germany's sell-out to merica" is growing into an angry ationwide shout. Unfortunately, even uch level-headed politicians as Franz osef Strauss have joined the chorus. ermany, it seems, is hell-bent on an nti-American rampage. And yet, nly yesterday it was a love affair. he history of its erosion is the his- ory of the German crisis.

This crisis, checked for the moment y the formation of the Great Coali- on between the conservative CDU/ SU and the socialist SPD, erupted hen poor innocent Chancellor Er- ard returned from Washington where e had been rebuffed by a reminder f German debts to the United States. ow, even a man as unsophisticated ı foreign politics as Lyndon Johnson hould have known, of course, that was the wrong time for such a eminder. The Germans were already larmed over the prospects of major

Mansbridge—Daily Sketch Ben Roth Agency

"Couldn't be. It must be one of the Beatles in Disguise."

U.S. troop withdrawals from Europe—meaning Germany—and even Mr. McNamara should have realized that this moment of uncertainty was hardly the right time to collect debts. The Germans, at any rate, reacted vigorously—not so much against Johnson as against Erhard.

For Erhard had been the main obstacle to an alliance between West Germany and de Gaullist France. Kennedy had been at least shrewd enough to understand that, if Germany was to be prevented from joining de Gaulle's isolationist Pan-Europism, it had to be shown that there was a profound identity of German and American policies. True, Kennedy gave the Germans little more than endearing speeches—but Johnson denied them even verbal assurance. And there was nothing they needed more at a time when NATO, emasculated by de Gaulle's arrogant withdrawal, was gone almost beyond repair. There was only one alternative to Gaullism left to Germany: the open German-American alliance. With such an alliance, Germany could be what it was meant to be—the sole guarantee of Europe's defense against Communism; without it, Germany is but the playground of Europe's fears and confusions.

In a sense, Erhard was the first European victim of the war in Vietnam. For Johnson, not exactly a man of international acumen even in peacetime, is so desperately absorbed by his Vietnamese troubles that the indefatigable anti-German crowd in the State Department is entirely free to run the show in Europe. The Germans, to be sure, facilitated the game by piously joining Europe's protests against "the slaughter in Vietnam."

THE BEN ROTH AGENCY.
Franklin—London Daily Mirror

But, instead of strengthening the American alliance with Germany, precisely *because* the United States was involved on the other side of the globe, the State Department did everything in its power to loosen America's ties with Germany. This, at least, was what resulted from inept handling of the situation in Washington.

It was not difficult: as part of Europe, Germany, too, is always on the brink of anti-Americanism. However, this time it was pushed beyond the brink. Erhard drowned in the stormy sea of German anger, and the country thought the time had come for a change. Nobody in Germany could quite say *what* change; and nobody really cared, as long as it was an anti-American change. The NPD, for instance, had only one constructive suggestion to make concerning a new German foreign policy: "Closer ties with Red China to embarrass the United States as well as the Soviet Union!" Somehow, or so some Germans think, a weakening of the United States' will makes Germany stronger (and the Soviets more willing to permit German re-unification).

In this atmosphere of confusion (reaching from the far Left to the far Right), Germany's professional politicians mustered the courage to leap into the Great Coalition. The compelling idea was simple enough. Neither of the two big parties, now that fateful decisions are at hand and a new opposition party has arisen, can afford to go it alone any longer. The vain Willy Brandt (who was briefly tempted to become Chancellor by the grace of a two-vote majority of the SPD plus the Free Democratic Party) was, *subito*, disciplined by

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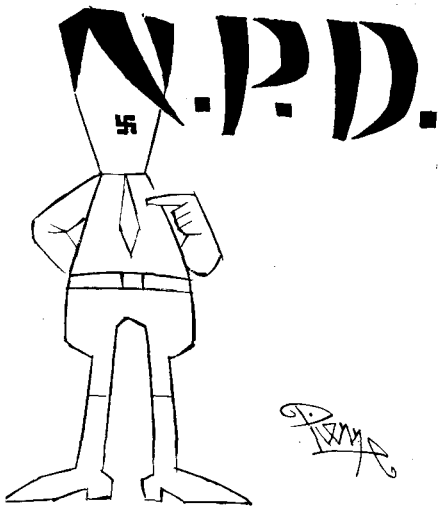
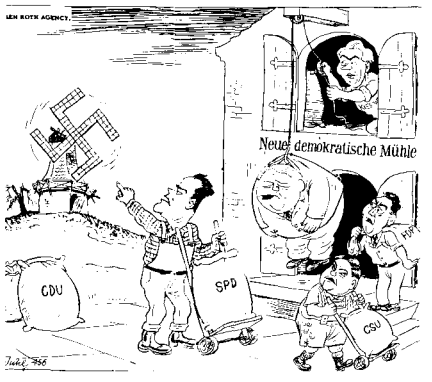
Watch on the Rhine



Pierre—Aux Ecoutes Ben Roth Agency

"Nazis, Us?"



Juhl—P.I.B. Copenhagen

Herbert Wehner (who had learned about the realities of power in Lenin's school); and the SPD entered as a junior partner the cabinet of Kurt Kiesinger. This coalition rallies all of Germany's professional politicians from former Communist Wehner to Franz Josef Strauss. In short, while there was, in reality, not a trace of an objective crisis, Germany reached for the one medicine it had reserved for utter emergency—a coalition between Wehner and Strauss.

Was it necessary? It probably was. True, an acute economic crisis and even recession are still far off in Germany; and the NPD is still a rather negligible force. But, though Germany has been, for twenty years now, Europe's most stable society, it also remains extremely vulnerable to shock. As long as business flourishes, and American protection is granted, Germany is a pillar of stability. But once American protection is in doubt, and clouds form on the economic horizon, the German tendency to panic reasserts itself.

Thus, the Great Coalition. The two big parties, comprising about 80 per cent of the German electorate, decide to share power and responsibility, rather than decimate one another in confused battle. And the idea is perfectly sound—provided the new government can agree on what to do in the next year or two and has enough character to do it. Both conditions are subject to doubts.

For one, how can the party of Adenauer and Strauss agree on a joint political course with the party of Brandt and Wehner? To be sure, any sane German understands that nothing must be done to rock the boat; and that, particularly, any adventurous attempt at a reconciliation with Walter Ulbricht would be suicide for Germany. But Wehner and Brandt are socialistic and nationalistic romantics, perhaps incorrigibly committed to the *"Deutschlandplan"* that calls for a confederation between Bonn and Pankow. So it all depends on the ability of Kiesinger and Strauss to check the romanticism of Wehner and Brandt. Kiesinger and Strauss are able men and able politicians and it is quite conceivable that—given unquestioning American support — the Great Coalition will avoid *Anschluss* with de Gaulle as well as confederation with Ulbricht.

But there arises question No. 2: What about Germany's public image? The politicians of this country are haunted by the wizardry of the "image-makers," of whom none is more potent, at least in Germany, than the *New York Times*. German government will be no better than its "image" in the *Times*. If and when a party like the NPD comes anywhere near grasping power, the situation may change and the world renew its acquaintance with the arrogant provincial type of Germans who don't give a damn. But until then (which means: as long as Germany remains part of the Western world), the German response to the political challenge will depend on the world's response to German impulses.

Admittedly, prospects for the new coalition are not too encouraging. How irresponsibly stupid the *New York Times* can be, if it only trie has been demonstrated by the paper reaction to Kiesinger's candidacy: man of absolutely unquestionabl democratic convictions who, like a middle-aged Germans, formally be longed for a few years to the Na Party (and even then secretly coop erated with the sworn enemies of th Nazi regime) was ostracized, thirt years later, by the *New York Time* as an "ex-Nazi."

No, prospects for the Kiesinge cabinet are not too good. But neithe are they to be dismissed. This tim fortunately, the two major Germa parties seem to have a premonitio that this is indeed their last chanc Consequently, they may be bol enough to pay more attention to Ger many's inexorable needs than to th Anglo-Saxon Liberal press. *Item* They may do whatever Germany ca do to restore and even intensify th German-American alliance. *Item* They may speedily and intelligentl re-organize Germany's financia house, beginning to go haywire unde welfarist pressures. *Item*: They ca legislate, with the required two-third majority, an election law that intro duces into hysteria-prone German the stability of a two-party systen

If the Great Coalition achieves thes limited accomplishments (and it in tends to), the ghost of a "crisis c the German system," so irresponsi bly invoked by the U.S. and th British press, will be laid foreve But if the Great Coalition fails, Ger many is gone. And, with Germany Europe. And with Europe, the Unite States.

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Who's Afraid of Dr. Faustus?

Not Richard Burton. And his money is on the line to prove it. How he goes about bringing Marlowe's play to the screen is . . . well, read all about it

TOM SAGE

ichard Burton has a very snug little ·essing room at the De Laurentiis udios near Rome. It's really a big ›artment, with another big apart-ent next door for Elizabeth Taylor. ir-conditioned, carpeted, deep gold ·lvet sink-in chairs, an antique table ith so many bottles, all full, on it at every time Mephistopheles turns ·er to have his stomach tickled ·ere's a crash of breaking glass. And broad, green view of the Roman ımpagna.

Meph stopheles is a slim black cat ıd "his real name's Beelzebub," says urton, rattling ice into vodka. "He as a silent walk-on part, like Eliza-eth." Mrs. Burton is playing Helen in *he Tragical History of Dr. Faustus,* hich Burton is producing, directing ıd financing ($1,000,000). He also ays the lead.

"Means I get up at 5:30 A.M. and ork a fourteen-hour day which ends ›out 10 P.M. watching rushes." Bur-›n is now half-way through the ıooting, and has another month to ›. "Will I survive?" he ponders, umping into a glossy white-enamel arber's chair before a mirror au-·oled in light-bulbs. Two Italian ıake-up men crown him with a bald ig, then a wispy grey headpiece, ›wder his face grey, then add some udio blood-dribbles. "Like a sixty-ear-old Beatle after a road acci-ent."

Burton's voice is astonishingly soft ıd unassuming; even soporific, like ıe sea on a summer Sunday. Yes, ıe greatest problem of being a di-·ctor-producer-actor is to find time › be one without skimping on the ·hers. No, he wouldn't care to follow is with a Shakespeare film, but may-e something equally Elizabethan: en Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*? 'ebster's *Duchess of Malfi*? Some-ıing like that. Yes, all shots were orked out in advance, no impro-sing, the whole had been planned nce last February, although some-times good ideas on paper don't work out in practice. No, he had no model as a director, though he had seen Orson Welles' *Macbeth* recently and thought it very brave, "all those kilts and Scots accents."

Why *Faustus,* in particular? Christopher Marlowe's untidy, unequal 1588 masterpiece is not everyone's glass of vodka. It is not the kind of film that makes big money. Or even money, period.

"Olivier," says Burton sourly, "took fifteen years to break even with *Henry V.* He hasn't got his money back yet on *Hamlet.*" But, he adds, he's always wanted to play *Faustus* since first reading it "at the age of twelve." And it may be that Burton is suffering a little from a Faust complex: for years people have complained that he sold his soul—or at least a great acting career—to Hollywood. Is this his bid to redeem it? Two of psychology's Three Stooges, Id and Ego, have glutted themselves in the past ten years of the actor's career. Now it's time for Superego to take his bow.

All Proceeds to Oxford

But for some solid fact we turn to Burton's co-director and Sancho Panza in this Quixotic exercise, Professor Nevill Coghill, 67, Merton Professor of English Literature at Oxford University. Not only does the professor help direct, he plays a professor in the movie. Coghill, perched boyishly on a high stool by the set, wearing a very old, very grey, very English suit and open-collared shirt, explains that it all began in 1944. Richard was eighteen. He played Angelo in the professor's production of Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* at Oxford University. He was so good that Coghill called an impresario friend down from London to watch. (Result: Burton was launched on the trajectory which has taken him through Hollywood, the Nile and *Cleopatra* to Rome and his fourteen-hour-day captivity in the huge, just-completed steel and glass De Laurentiis studios.) Then, continues Coghill, they met some time back, in the Café Royale, London. The professor bewailed his financial problems with the University Dramatic Society. Burton said he'd like to help. How? Heads were scratched. Result: *Dr. Faustus,* starring Richard Burton and Elizabeth Taylor for one week in a small theater in Oxford, with a cast of students.

"We charged the earth for seats," says Coghill. And they made a profit of £8,000. It all went to the University. So will any proceeds from the film—for which Burton and Taylor will receive no salary. The same students will appear in the film. Talent-spotter Coghill picks Harvard-educated Andreas Teuber, who plays Mephistopheles, as the man most likely to succeed on the professional stage. Teuber plans to make it his career. He is now being paid the minimum union rate of $54 a week, like the other 47 undergraduates, and leaves his Rome hotel near St. Peter's for work at 6 A.M. daily.

Sets are lavish. There is a golden papal court, a dark-green cardboard magic forest, a gilt-pillared emperor's palace, a street in medieval Wittenburg. "Cost $22,000," sighs co-producer Richard McWhorter, a bald, anxious, energetic American who has "managed to save a lot of stuff for *Faustus*" from the *Taming of the Shrew,* the latest Burton-Taylor film made in Rome last summer with Franco Zeffirelli directing.

On set, Coghill explains: "This is Faustus' study. Bone-white and shaped like a skull because the crisis of his doubt before signing the pact with Mephistopheles takes place in his own head." By selling his soul, Faustus regains his youth for 24 years of "living in all voluptuousness." But

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Burton is now in his scraggy wig and foam rubber paunch. Shouts of "Silenzio!"

A woman's voice says, "Flee, Faustus!" Burton makes an impassioned dash across the cell. "Whither shall I flee?" he trumpets. "To God!" suggests the voice. Burton cries, "He'll send me down to Hell!" and a life-size crucifix crashes from a wall. Hell, by the way, is the full medieval works, "like a coal-mine, only red, with horrors at every level," says Coghill. It is being paved with painted purple eggs by designer John de Cuir, who won Oscars for his work on *Cleopatra* and *The Agony and Ecstasy.*

Elizabeth Taylor makes eight separate appearances as Helen of Troy. In her first scene she materializes to Faustus in a brothel.

"Elizabeth is marvelous," enthuses Coghill. "Such a personality. And a tremendous success at Oxford. Absolute silence while she was on stage and after one performance I congratulated her and she said no, something was wrong. But why, I asked. 'Someone coughed,' she said."

These multiple materializations of Helen are not the only changes Professor Coghill has made in Marlowe's play. All the comic scenes have been cut. "They're so terribly feeble." And lines from other Marlowe works have been introduced to pad out parts for the Seven Deadly Sins. Burton himself has lifted a line from Marlowe's *Tamburlane*—"because it's one of my favorites." The line: "Is it not passing brave to be a king and ride in triumph through Persepolis!"

Elizabeth the Tease

Back in the dressing room, wearing orange blossoms in her hair and a pink housecoat, Elizabeth Taylor says, "I'm just a tease as Helen, really. He sees me in visions all the time and I crumble away." Her make-up, for a three-second appearance, takes two hours. "I even have red sequins here —not on my eyebrows exactly, underneath . . ."

"Lowbrows," says Burton. They barrack each other in a curious way, like two vaudeville lags who have strayed by accident into *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*

On classical acting:

Taylor: I'd like to do *Macbeth*!

Burton: The man or the lady?

Taylor: I thought the lady.

Burton: Of course, of course, she always walks off with the play.

Taylor: But when I'm older. The way we're going it won't be long.

On censorship:

Taylor: Let's face it, *Cleopatra* wasn't the world's greatest film, but did the Dublin censor have to cut out *two and a half hours*?

Burton: They banned *Becket.* I said, "It's a film about a saint." They said (thick Irish brogue), "Ah, we all know it's about an illicit relationship between him and Henry II!" I said, "*I* didn't know, and I'm damned if it shows on the screen!"

Taylor: There are a thousand girls who could put them right, dear.

On their children:

Burton: I'm lucky if I see them every other day when they come to the studio.

Taylor: They come for the zoo, really. (De Laurentiis, the Italian film magnate, has a back lot filled with wild animals left over from his *Bible* epic.)

It's been a Hollywood tradition since the Erich von Stroheim era to present a new director with a whip. Elizabeth Taylor has accordingly presented her husband with an antique Indian hunting crop with a silver and topaz hilt engraved "R.B." and with the message: "Is it not passing brave to be a producer, director, actor, and ride in triumph through Persepolis? All my love, Elizabeth." The handle conceals a stiletto for killing big game.

He decides not to take it down to the press conference which is to mar the start of shooting. A wise judg ment, for in grey locks, expande waist, white blouse and winetaster chain he looks like a Scandinavia *maître d'hôtel.* But Liz, in black ring lets "created and donated by Alex andre of Paris," is looking her love liest. As they enter she summor Dino De Laurentiis to share the ap plause. Loud cries of "Dino, Dino from a loving press and Italy's best known millionaire steps out. Pro fessor Coghill makes a speech sayin how splendid it all is, particularl Burton's generosity: "Though no ma likes to be praised to his face . . Burton dons an expression of amaze disbelief, and gets a laugh.

Questions, anyone? But only som freakish correspondent from a worth British paper takes the idea seriously It is suggested that the Burtons kis for the cameras.

Everyone: Kiss, kiss.

Student of Marlowe: And in Ac Two Scene One, Mr. Burton . . .

Everyone: No, no! The kiss!

Student of Marlowe: . . . interest ing to hear a small sample of th famous last speech . . .

Burton: Well, now, shall I? C shall we have the kiss?

Everyone: Kiss! The Kiss!

They kiss, and exeunt right, t where the international press is al ready champing hard on two trestle table-loads of delicatessen. It doesn take long to go. A voice is hear saying, ". . . a very good press con ference indeed," as the lights ar doused.

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A Heath Christmas Carol Program

The Heaths decide to take on the Trapps at their own game. Why shouldn't they—they outnumber them. That's what they told themselves. Sad.

ALOISE B. HEATH

None of the Heath children was born on Sunday, but many of them almost were, which may account for the fact that, although bright *and* bonny *and* good *and* gay they are not, bonny and gay they indubitably are.

They may get A2 in handwriting and D4 in word analysis; they may get "whole-heartedly enthusiastic" in sports, and "constantly inattentive" in social studies, but they are the funniest crew—not in the whole country; that's ridiculous, I always tell people—in New England. Though, I admit it, I don't know the rest of the country very well.

It is regrettably true that they forge their father's name to undone homework slips (remember those A's in penmanship) at eight; that they fall in love with and torture members of the opposite sex at eleven, and that by the age of twelve they have discovered that you can smoke into the exhaust fan of the first-floor lavatory with absolute safety, whereas smoking out of the third-floor bathroom means Mother calls the Fire Department. (They learn about cigarettes young because when we catch them smoking, we beat them.)

And gay my children unquestionably are. They rollick into the house from school, burst into paroxysms of laughter at the extraordinary coincidence of their reunion from various car pools, plan their far-flung wickedesses in gales of muffled giggles, are scolded with eyes twinkling above inefficiently suppressed grins, and fall asleep in the midst of a choked chuckle at 8, 9 or 10 P.M., according to whether their bedtime was at 7, 8, or nine.

And they sing! Lord, how they sing! They sing alone or in unison, in harmony, cacophony or competition, and if two of the stubborn ones simultaneously embark on "The Surrey with the Fringe on Top," and "Silent Night," an immediate popularity contest ensues, as other children drift into the room and join in one song or the other. If the singers are equally popular, you just have to break it up. (Not by saying: "Break it up," you understand. Who's listening? What I usually do is play "The Stars and Stripes Forever" very loudly on the piano.)

With all the gaiety and caroling that goes on in our house all year round, it is only natural that we plan, early every December, a Christmas carol program to put on tape after it is absolutely perfect, and send to the children's grandmother as an absolutely unique, unprocurable in stores, Christmas gift.

One reason this always seems feasible in early December is that around then the children are infinitesimally better-behaved than usual. I myself attribute this to the fact that their father and I are, not infinitesimally at all, worse. I have even discussed with Ben the potentialities of our being worse all the time, for the children's own good, but he insists he is the same at Christmas time as he is the year round which, as I occasionally—well, maybe a *little* more often than occasionally—point out, is a clear admission that he is impossible all the time.

'Tis the Season to Sing

In any case, there's no question that, around Christmas time, the children are more cooperative. All of them will stand still and concentrate, instead of two reading comic books and three wrestling under the piano. They willingly all sing "fa-la-la-la-la, la la! la! la!," even though most of the boys, and all of the girls under twelve, say it makes them feel silly. All in all, it seems an ideal time to plan a Christmas program, and I do so, in spite of a) an unbroken record of failure, and b) the boys.

Boys, as anyone with fewer resources than the director of the Vienna Boys' Choir knows, are an insuperable obstacle to group singing. I am convinced that Madame von Trapp had hers wired for sound.

In our family, 21-year-old Jim is the only dependable boy. He has a soft, melodious tenor voice, he sings fa-la-la without shame, and he whacks the little ones when they fidget. Seventeen-year-old John, who also has a nice voice, is, unfortunately, musically gifted, and refuses to waste his talent on mere singing. He plays the descant to the carols on his recorder, and if there is not a satisfactory descant he composes one, which is lovely, but it leaves Jim alone and lonely down there below middle C. Buckley, at thirteen, sings a high and piercingly sweet soprano, but he is under the impression that a listening world will believe his voice has changed if he emits all sounds an octave lower than is normal to him. And he sings that way until his ribs are so sore from his brothers' and sisters' pounding that he can barely sing at all, which, as I keep pointing out, may be good for discipline, but not for Christmas carol programs. Timothy, who is a crotchety eight, refuses flatly to make any concessions on the part of the language as it is spoken, to the language as it is sung. "*Glo-o-o-o-o, o-o-o-o-o, o-o-o-o-o-oria*" is not for Tim. He sings "*Glo-*," compares the marble collection in his right pocket with the marble collection in his left pocket, and rejoins the chorale unerringly on "*ria*," but neither pleading nor pummeling will induce him to vocalize all those finky "aws." All this is a little hard on Pam, who is nineteen and who, as the conscientious and efficient head of her school Madrigal Club last year, has much higher standards than the rest of us. Our carol program this year was to be

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not just Mother at the piano, John at the recorder and nine children singing in unison. It was to include part singing, solos, duets, trios and quartets, Buckley on the drums, ten-year-old Jennifer on the triangle and a piano duet by Betsey and Alison who are eleven and twelve and hate each other.*

Our first difficulties I could see coming. Buckley played the drum, not with a gently medieval boom, or even with a gay seventeenth-century ratatat, but as if he were solo-ing during a pause in a program by the Rolling Stones, which was impressive, to be sure, but reduced the singers to utter inaudibility. Jennifer ting'd on the triangle whenever it seemed to her that she had not tung for quite long enough, and Betsey and Alison, who have never entirely grasped the purpose of a duet, exchanged sidelong black-eyed glares and raced each other through "Jingle Bells," Alison winning handily by a good two and a half measures.

Timothy and little Janet, who were to solo as friendly beasts in the carol known only to the parents of small children, "The Friendly Beasts," were less than cooperative. Janet refused to sing, *"I, said the cow all white and red,"* because she said cows were ugly and she was not; besides, everyone kept smiling at her; and Tim persisted in singing, *"I, said the don-key, all shag-gy and brown"*, as *"I. Said the donkey. All shaggy. And brown. I carried. His Mother. Uphill. And down."*

Kings Afforient

After the special effects numbers the group launched into the standard Christmas carols while Pam conducted and I concentrated on the piano. I have to concentrate harder than most people on the piano because of an abnormal tendency to play everything in D Major. Our repertoire was nearly finished when Pam addressed the group in less than a friendly tone.

"If anybody's being funny around here, they just can just stop it right now."

*Above all, every word was to be as *clear* as a *bell*. Pam even taught us a little song: *"Whether you whisper soft, or whether you loudly call, distinctly, distinctly speak. Or do not speak at all."* Whose melody we assimilated rather more quickly than its meaning.

There was a blank silence. Long blue eyes met wide black eyes without the glimmer of a twinkle. Pam waited a minute, then she said:

"Mother, let's start over, and I'll take the piano while you come out here and listen. There's something peculiar going on. Now listen *carefully*."

I listened carefully, and it was then I decided my children are either not quite bright enough to live, or else they are too gay to bear.

Do you know what "afforient" is? Neither did I till I heard Priscilla, who is fifteen and who should know better, sweetly warble that she three kings afforient were, and I asked her. "Afforient," if you are interested, is the state of being disoriented, or wandering, as one does over field and fountain, moor and mountain.

And has anybody every wondered where the Ranger is on Christmas Eve? Has any one, for that matter, ever given a single thought to the Ranger on Christmas Eve? Well, Betsey Heath has. *"Away* is the Ranger," she will inform you, if you listen carefully. And obviously, he is away because there is no crib for his bed. After all, why should the Ranger stick around *here*, when he hasn't even got a crib much less a bed for Pete's sake!

Janet, canny little Janet, all of whose sins are premeditated and blatant, sang exactly what she intended to sing. *"No L, No L the angels did say."* It was a matter of the angels' alphabet, she explained to me a little tiredly. "A B C D E F G H I J K M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z. No L. get it, Mother, No L!" I eyed her suspiciously, because more humor in the family we do not need, but I let it pass.

Jennifer settled my next problem which had to do with the angels. Do you know how the angel of the Lord shone around? He shone around in a glowy manner, that's how. While shepherds watch'd their flock by night she explained, the angel of the Lord came and glowy showed around. How else?

Have you ever wondered, in the long watches of the night, what Child is this who laid to rest on Mary's lap is sleeping? Well, it is the Child whom angels greet with Ann the Sweet, while shepherds' watches keeping. Well, St. Ann was Mary's mother, certainly sweet and probably dead, argued Alison. Why *wouldn't* she be with the angels? As for the shepherds, what with their setting off for Bethlehem, well-known for its good and bad thieves, keeping their watches was a very friendly gesture on the part of the angels Ann the Sweet probably thought of it.

Some of them were taking an individual called "Good Heed" to the angels' ward; many of them with the jellied toast proclaiming, though all of them sang the Coventry Carol twenty of whose 28 words are "Lully lully," absolutely correctly.

Round John Virgin

If anyone is interested in the geography of Bethlehem, I can tell you categorically that it lies on seashore just below the town of Dul. We know it is *below* Dul because the carol states very clearly that Bethlehem is what in Dul you see *below* (sometimes written *in dulci jubile*) and we know it is on the sea because among

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the stars in dreamless sleep the silent stars go by, so that had to be the stars' *reflection,* see, Mother? Because they couldn't very well *shine* among the deep, could they, Mother?

This is the kind of thing that happens when your children get B-2 in Reasoning Ability and C-4 in Independent Reading.

The older children, to give credit where credit is due, made their misinterpretations on a far loftier level. Leaving history and geography to their younger siblings, Pam and Jim simply revised the Christian religion.

Pam, even Pam, kept announcing in her clear, sweet contralto that God and sin are reconciled; but she realized immediately, when it was pointed out to her, that God was far more likely to reconcile Himself to sinners than to sin, even if the book hadn't said so, which it had.

Jim had to argue a little. He was the one who kept urging the shepherds to leave their "you's" and leave their "am's" and rise up, shepherds, and follow.

What in Heaven's name is this about you's and am's?" I asked him.

"Oh-h-h, rejection of personality, denial of self," said Jim grandly. "Practically the central thesis of Christian theology."

"Of course, *I* don't go to a Catholic college, but *I* think that's Communist theory, not Christian theology," I told him. "In any case, could you come down from those philosophic heights and join us shepherds down here with our ewes (female sheep) and rams (male sheep)."

"If you insist," said Jim, with the impudent grin of the 21-year-old whose dear mother is incontrovertibly in the right, and besides, it's right down there in black and white.

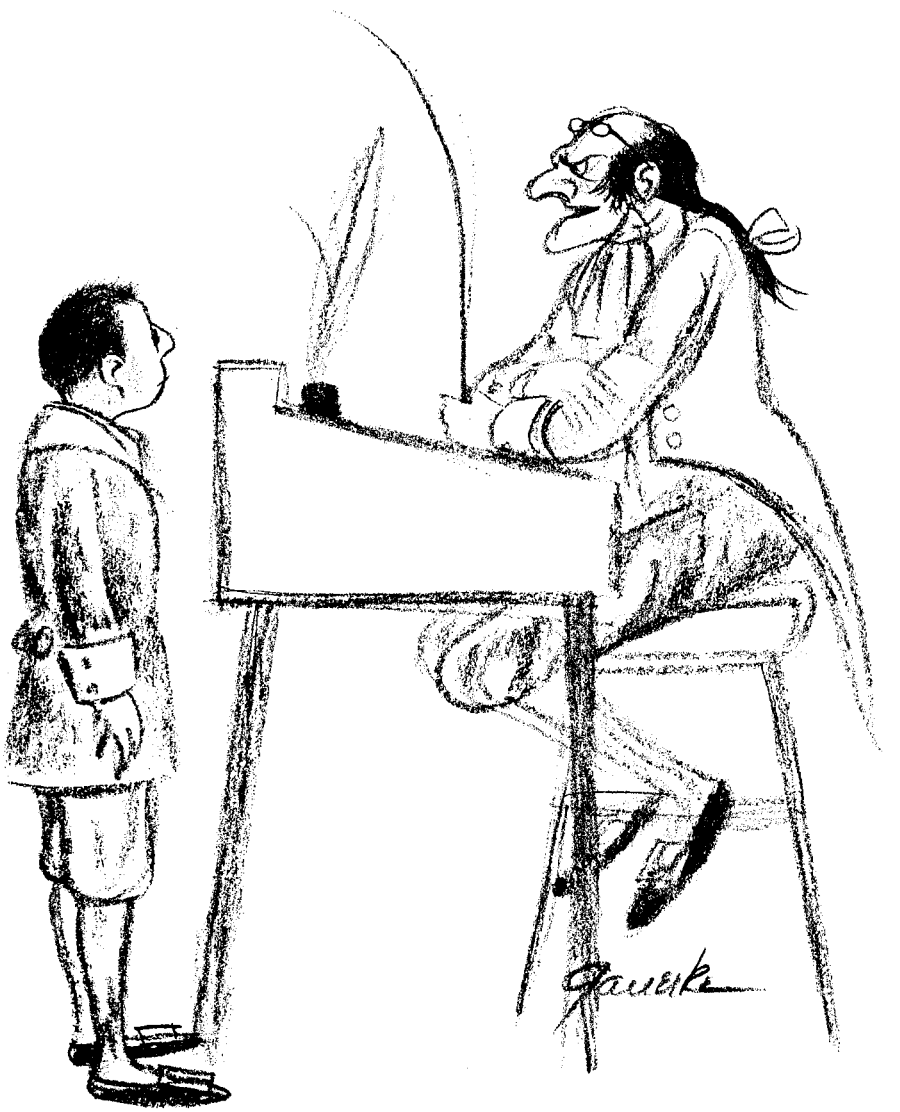
But I was weary to go on. "Children," I said. "Let's just do one song absolutely *perfectly.* Let's concentrate on "Silent Night," because that's the one we know best anyway. Pam and Priscilla can do the alto, John can do the descant, the rest of you sing nice and softly and, Buckley, I don't want to hear one *note* below middle C."

They lined up, looking very clean and handsome and holy, Jim and John at the back, Timothy and Janet on either side of Pam at the piano, and the middle echelon sensibly and unquarrelsomely distributed in the middle according to heights. *Just like the Trapp Family,* I thought to myself happily. Pam turned and gave them all a long and, I hoped, stern look, before she played the opening measures.

"Silent night, holy night," nine young voices chanted softly, and I noticed Jennifer and Betsey beginning to break up in twinkles and dimples. *"All is calm, all is bright,"* they went on, John's recorder piping low and clear. Buckley and Alison clapped their hands briefly over their mouths. *"Round John Virgin, Mother and Child,"* the chorus swelled sweetly, and I rapped hard on the piano. "Just *who,"* I asked, in my most restrained voice, "is Round John Virgin?"

"One of the twelve opossums," the ten young voices answered promptly, and they collapsed over the piano, from the piano bench onto the floor, convulsed by their own delicate wit.

And that's why we didn't have *this* year's Christmas carol program.



"And don't return to this schoolhouse, young man, until your hair has grown to a respectable length!"

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Religion

The Spree Was Grey

HAROLD O. J. BROWN

What kind of platform can be shared by the Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia and the Pentecostal evangelist and faith-healer Oral Roberts? From October 25 to November 4 there was one, by the grey banks of the Spree where it flows into East Berlin. In West Berlin's Kongresshalle, under leaden North German fall skies, the World Congress on Evangelism assembled a colorful collection of delegates, observers, and press from religious bodies throughout the world, including at least a few Eastern European delegates. Convened by editor Carl F. H. Henry of *Christianity Today,* scholarly advocate of evangelical Protestantism, and Billy Graham, the Congress brought together over twelve hundred spiritual leaders in an atmosphere of tension, expectancy, and excitement. The West German government was trying to fall, but for the Congress participants all the tension and excitement were concentrated on the challenge of proclaiming the old Gospel into the final third of the twentieth century. The vast majority of them came from Protestant churches, although Eastern Orthodoxy and the Roman Catholic Church were also represented.

How Many Truths?

The *sine qua non* for participation was recognition as an evangelical. This much-misunderstood word was applied to—and accepted by—people as diverse as the Negus, Oral Roberts, and the pastor of Boston's "only storefront Catholic church." Insofar as the Congress enabled a wide variety of churchmen to take a stand for the truth of the historic Christian message, and for the necessity of proclaiming it aggressively into the twentieth century, it has done much to illuminate an otherwise gloomy ecclesiastical scene. If there was one significant criticism of the Congress by delegates themselves, it was that the slogan, "One Race, One Gospel, One Task," stressed activism but not understanding, and omitted a fourth, necessary unity: One Truth. This heterogeneous company of evangelistically-inclined Christians gave more attention to the heart of Christianity than to its head. Learned lectures by German and American theologians occupied a good deal of the participants' time, but they were far more moved by such things as the simple story of his own conversion told by Anglican bishop Chandu Ray of Karachi and the absorbing descriptions of revivals which swept Korea half a century ago.

American delegates were the most numerous. Reinforced by participants from Britain and the Commonwealth, as well as by most of the Japanese and Chinese present, they made English the dominant language. Nevertheless, America set neither the theological nor the emotional tone: German theologians gave three major presentations, and the Indians, Pakistanis, and Chinese provided a very un-Anglo-Saxon spiritual intensity.

A remarkable feature of the whole session was the very real spirit of brotherly love which mingled with evangelistic enthusiasm. Not only did Pentecostals sit down with High Calvinists, but Afrikaner, South African colored, and independent African delegates were cordial to one another in the Kongresshalle and the restaurants. In spite of the bewildering galaxy of organizations represented, which ran from the Mar Thoma Church of India, traditionally considered a foundation of the doubting Apostle, to the Far Eastern Broadcasting Corporation, which is less broadcasting company than an evangelistic association, a remarkable sense of spiritual unity clearly characterized the assembly. Anglican bishops were present in large numbers, but mostly from Asia and Africa. Few came from England, none at all from the United States. Apparently cultural Christianity and social status have a far more deadening impact on bishops' zeal for evangelism than do the isolation and minority status of Christians in Asia and Africa.

The Congress sounded predictably sharp warnings against the disintegration of the Christian message at the hands of modernist and secularizing theologians. The only surprise was that the denunciations came from respected members of the very German academic community from which so much of the malaise of modern Protestantism has come. Rudolf Bultmann, the demigod of radical Protestant scholarship, and his prophet to the masses, Bishop Robinson of Woolwich, received summary judgments, but the still more radical death-of-God theologians were not dignified by being given serious attention. Professor Hans Rohrbach, *rektor* (president) of Mainz University and an outstanding mathematician, said that radical Protestantism had tied its fortunes to an outmoded and inaccurate impression of what the natural sciences teach about man and the universe.

Churches Growing Slowly

The practical side of evangelism, including techniques of mass-communications, received extended consideration. The swelling world population was contrasted to the slow increase in church membership in all denominations, which is making a mockery of Christ's command, "Make disciples of all nations. . . ." World population is growing ten times as fast as the churches. In the face of the challenge to produce relevance and results, the need for fidelity to the supernatural message of the Bible was stressed. The effectiveness of a clear and unequivocal presentation of the old truths, even in today's world, was repeatedly affirmed.

A link seemed to be missing between the orthodox reaffirmations of the theologians and the marching orders of the evangelists. Despite public support given to the Congress and the Graham Crusade which preceded it by the Bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg, it was evident that there is confusion, even apostasy, in the major churches. Nevertheless, the discussions and lectures did not deal with this issue. How long an Indian bishop can continue to preach the Gospel to Hindus when American and English bishops are cutting the fac-

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tual heart out of Christianity is a burning question, but it was not dealt with. Dr. Henry replied to a query about this with the observation that the Congress was on evangelism, not theology.

No doubt many delegates left the Congress with some basic questions about the connections between theology, the churches, and evangelism still hanging in the air. Interestingly, impassioned pleas by American delegates to make race relations a primary topic for discussion were not supported by Africans or Asians to any great extent. No formal statement of faith was issued to make it clear just what was the basis for the cooperation between the emperor, the faith-healer, and the priest. Despite all these lacunae, in the eyes of almost all the participants the Congress was a great success. It was a broadly-based and enthusiastic reaffirmation of faith in the historic Christian message and in the simplest, directest, and most straightforward approach to presenting it. It brought together men who are witnessing for Christ among non-Christian religious majorities, and those who are struggling to defend the faith in the midst of "post-Christian" Western secularism. The encounter did much to shake the fascination of some Western Christians with the indications of their own decadence. As one Indian bishop said, "Too much is being said about the world in the post-Christian age. For three-quarters of it, it is still the pre-Christian age." The evident truth of this statement, and the urgency of presenting the message of the divine Redeemer to the world before it activates one of its many possibilities for self-immolation, brought the most diverse leaders to a real experience of unity in diversity. It was a practical demonstration of the motto of Cardinal Suenens: "The walls of separation do not reach to heaven."

Production Turn-Around in Toyland

The gnomes were uneasy. Everybody knew Santa Claus was a difficult patient, but this was too much. Three days after the operation and there he was out in the sleigh shouting "Mush! Mush!" with his safety belt unbuckled.

"You'd think he'd consider the reindeer," one gnome said.

"You'd think he'd listen to Mrs. Claus," said a second, inserting a glass eye into another frugging Beatle doll.

A third was positively morbid: "I'm worried about production. If he keeps on the way he's going, we'll be having Christmas twice a year, then four times a year, and then . . ."

"So who's complaining?" asked a fourth, who was sewing a silk lining into a gorgeous ranch mink coat. "The trouble with this business is, it's seasonal. What we need is a smart agency."

Just then an ear-splitting crash of bells killed further talk as Santa Claus himself pulled up in front of the toy factory.

"Throw a blanket over 'em till they get steamed down," he yelled, stamping snow from his giant leather boots. "And look after Blitzen. Seemed to me like he throw'd a shoe."

"Good morning, Mr. Claus," said gnome #1. "How is the incision?"

"Not as wide as your mouth, midget," Santa Claus replied, clapping his bad side vigorously with a huge hand. "Long as they keep me at the Pole, you folks got nuthin' to fear."

At that point, gnome #4 put down his needle and said: "Mr. Claus, have you thought about the future of the business? Work we got, but only in December. Would you believe Christmas in August?"

Santa Claus fixed the unfortunate gnome with an awful eye . . . then he exploded.

"Goll dang it, can't keep a secret around this factory nohow! Just fer that, I ain't tellin'," he said, tramping off grumpily to the Lionel 00 gauge production line. "You gnomes know I hate bein' anticipated. OK, this is it. We're gonna have Christmas in August, and Christmas in October, and Christmas in April. We're gonna give this stuff out you fellers are makin' all year long."

"When do we raise prices?" asked #4.

"Prices? Ain't gonna be no har-dee-har prices, honey. This here stuff's fer free. That's what a Santy Claus is for, don't you know?"

W. H. VON DREELE

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Christmas Away From Home

ALEC WAUGH

The first Christmas that I spent away from home was in 1917. It was my twentieth and I was a machine-gun officer in France, in a quiet part of the line, in charge of an isolated nest of guns, commanding a valley down which the German offensive was expected to deploy. It was a day like any other. There could be no church service. Christmas mail had arrived days earlier. The extra rations were being kept at details against our return. The weather was relatively clement and in the afternoon I called on a brother officer who had recently joined my company to replace a casualty. I had not yet met him and Christmas Day seemed auspicious. And the Germans three thousand miles away. There was no organized trench system, so I walked across the valley.

A week later that walk got me into trouble. I was relieved before my brother officer and back in details I happened to make a remark about him in the mess. The captain's head went up. "When did you meet Jones?" he asked. I told him about my visit. "You walked across there in the daylight. Didn't you realize that his position was under observation from the German lines? We'll have to change his gun-sites."

It was a very definite black mark against me. My sense of what was fitting on Christmas Day had grievously misled me. I prayed that that would be the last Christmas that I spent away from home.

That pious hope was not to be fulfilled. Far from it. In the summer of 1926, I started traveling. Of my last forty Christmases, seventeen have been spent out of England; three in the West Indies, two in New York, three in Washington, four wartime ones in the Middle East, one in Beirut and three in Baghdad, one each in Bangkok, California, the South of France and Copenhagen; one in mid-Pacific. This last a very curious one, because my ship was crossing the international date line so that two successive days were labeled December 25. The ship was French. Its category was mixed intermediate class. There was no Anglican priest on board. The French make more in terms of public festival of New Year's Eve than they do of Christmas Day. The only special incident was the serving at dinner of a *Büche de Noel,* a cake shaped and colored like a log.

A very curious Christmas. Yet all Christmases spent away from home are curious; particularly those spent in the tropics. Since the idea of Father Christmas and good King Wenceslas are Northern, we think of Christmas in terms of snow. Christmas cards show the traveler kicking

the snow off his boots. It is strange and inappropriate in equatorial heat to sit down to stuffed turkey, mince pies, brandy butter and a holly-decked plum pudding.

It is at Christmas that the exile is most conscious of his exile. Though he may be spending it sumptuously, with friends, his thoughts will be many miles away. Probably he will be on a different degree of latitude and he will work out his family's time table in terms of his present one. In Baghdad when I walked back along the Tigris after midnight mass, under the stars, I would picture my father, in his London flat, with his chair drawn close before the fire. For him it would be the end of Christmas Eve. One more pipe before he went to bed. In the West Indies there is a difference of five hours, but the other way. Two A.M. in Nevis would be 7 A.M. in England. The children would certainly be awake by now, opening their stockings. Sitting on a deck chair on a verandah, looking out over "the bright blue meadow of a bay," I would relive their day hour by hour. Their day would be more real to me than mine.

That is why now and again I have tried to isolate myself on the day itself. My last Christmas in Baghdad was in 1944. Iraq was a back area then, in terms of the general strategy of the war. There was no urgency of work. We could afford to knock off from Christmas Eve until the morning of the 27th. For ten days I had not opened a letter so that I should have a large mail on Christmas Day. I was booked to play golf in the afternoon. Why not slip off to the golf course after breakfast, take some sandwiches and a hip flask, and read my letters slowly under a date palm? I was upbraided later for having shown a bad mess spirit but it was for me one of the most Christmasey of all the Christmases that I have been abroad.

Christmases far from home have indeed a flavor all their own. In retrospect I can recall clearly each of those Christmases spent in exile, whereas those that I have spent at home are blurred and indistinct. The "inward eye" creates for me a composite picture out of the separate details that are personal to me yet apply to everyone—the stirring of the pudding, the decorating and lighting of the tree, the mistletoe on the main lamp in the hall, the villagers singing Christmas carols in the cold, the packing of the parcels—whether they are put under a tree, stuffed into a stocking, set out on a breakfast table or left outside a bedroom door—the walk across the fields to church. In England there used to be a midday mail, so that on one's return there would be a final dividend of presents; then after the turkey, the cutting of the Christmas pudding with its rings and thimbles, its sixpenny bits and china babies. It is a composite picture of all that I have recalled in Baghdad and Barbadoes, in Bangkok and in Washington. Christmas is something that one carries in one's heart.

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Delectations

Why Cookbooks?

NIKA STANDEN HAZELTON

Contrary to what most people think, cookbook writing, unless you hit the top, pays poorly, especially if you turn out original, honest books with tested recipes. Why, then, do so many non-professional food people write cookbooks? Because it is the *kulturni* thing to do today, when men are proud to wear aprons and stockbrokers dimple at being praised for their *paella* rather than for their *savoir faire* in the market. Cookbooks are written because they are an easy way to show that you, too, are an expert, and experts are the holy men of our times. Anyone can cook something and anyone has opinions about food, but if you want to paint flowers on fans or play *arpeggios* on the French horn you have to have a certain technique. Cookbooks are written because they mark you as a person concerned with the finer things in life, who will add tone to crasser surroundings. And professionals write cookbooks for much the same reasons university professors write papers: they keep their name before the public and impress those who dispense the well-paying commercial jobs.

With the steady stream of new cookbooks, how do authors think up new subjects for more cookbooks? The more responsible ones cast a look around as to what is needed, and come up with either better all-purpose books, or books for beginners, or special-subjects books such as freezing or seafood, or some foreign food that has not been done to death. Others follow the leader. Still others, alas a majority, shut their eyes and dream up a catchy theme, such as "Food to Swing By" or "Food Too Deep for Tears" or "Food to Shoot Geese By." One unhappy writer wrote a "gay cookbook," no less, and another one a wordy treatise on how to seduce with food, where would-be seducers (m. and f.) ran between bed and stove without stopping to so much as wash their hands.

There is a limitless reservoir of free publicity recipes, almost all awful, on which a number of writers have based their books. One author, William I. Kaufman, has based quite a series on them; the latest, which deals with tea, tells you how to make "fruity porkchops" with one tablespoon of instant tea, and "tea blondes" with two tablespoons of it. There are published cookbooks, magazine and newspaper food articles from which to swipe ideas, and the swipers seldom bother to correct any mistakes they might find. More prudent writers have trunks full of clippings, notes, family recipes etc. Some select them carefully and retest them, others fish in the heap blindfolded.

As for the testing of the recipes, here is where the difference between the pros and the oafs comes in. The professionals know that the recipes must be made as foolproof as possible, or else there is no point to a cookbook. They will go to any trouble to make them so, and it is this meticulosity, combined with excellent taste, knowledge of the subject and good luck (hitting the right subject at the right time) that brings them their deserved success. Amateurs feel no such compunction, and besides, often they simply don't know that testing is a very different matter from cooking for the home.

I recommend the following books from having cooked from them constantly. The order is random.

The James Beard Cookbook. Dell Publishing Co., 75 cents. Excellent all purpose.

James Beard's Menus for Entertaining. Delacorte Press, $8.50. With recipes for every occasion.

Mastering the Art of French Cooking by Julia Child. Knopf, $10.00. Completely fulfills the promise.

The New York Times Cookbook and *The New York Times Menu Cookbook* by Craig Claiborne. Knopf, $8.95 each. Splendid food, clear writing.

French Provincial Cooking by Elizabeth David. Harper & Row, $7.50. Mrs. David is undoubtedly the most literate and knowledgeable of all food writers. All her books are worth getting. This one is especially erudite with wonderful food, but not for beginning cooks.

House of India Cookbook by Syed Abdullah. Follet, $4.95. Interesting Indian food that is not all spices and curries. I think well of it or I wouldn't have written the introduction.

The Food and Drink of Mexico by George C. Booth. Ward Ritchie Press, $5.95. Unusual and delicate food, and fascinating information on the background of Mexico's cuisine.

The Art of Greek Cookery by the Women of St. Paul's Greek Orthodox Church. Doubleday, $4.50. Unexpectedly attractive dishes and interesting information.

The Thousand Recipe Chinese Cookbook by Gloria Bley Miller. Atheneum, $20.00. The most beautifully made and illustrated cookbook there ever was, with utterly fascinating recipes and information.

The Savory of the Sea by Dan Morris and Matild Moore. Macmillan, $6.95. Straightforward recipes, and lots of useful information on everything concerning saltwater fish and seafood, including how to make a clambake pit.

The Art of Good Cooking and *The Art of Fine Baking* by Paula Peck. Simon & Schuster, $7.50 and $6.50. Splendid and original food, clearly explained.

Stalking the Wild Asparagus, *Stalking the Blue-Eyed Scallops* and *Stalking the Healthy Herbs* by Euell Gibbons. McKay, $4.95, $5.95 and $6.95. The most original and delightfully written books on wild foods and how to cook and use them, and a must for anybody who's ever looked with pleasure at a tree or a wave. Best pick-up reading, too.

Three charming stocking-stuffers: *Pasta!* by Evelyn Gendel (Simon & Schuster $3.00)—amusing and delicious fifty ways with a noodle; *Shrimp and Other Shellfish Recipes* by Helen Evans Brown (Ward Ritchie Press, $3.95), one of the best cooks this country ever produced — lovers of good food should get all of her books; and *Quick Guide to Wine* by Robert Jay Misch (Doubleday, $2.95). The most sensible primer ever written on the subject, with such useful information as what certain wines are worth in $ and ¢.

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FROM THE ACADEMY

Strength Through Joy Again?

RUSSELL KIRK

Despite the abysmal failure of the Job Corps (an anarchy which has cost more than $7,300 per man enrolled), Washington's enthusiasts for regimentation are full of fresh schemes for the "direction" of American youth. Last spring, Mr. R. Strange McNamara, Secretary of Defense, strangely proposed a new plan of universal military training and called for "national service" of a noncombatant character; nobody applauded him.

Undiscouraged, nevertheless, now Mr. W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor, advocates "community opportunity boards" to register every young person eighteen years old for enrollment—voluntary at first, perhaps, but to become compulsory if there aren't enough volunteers—in projects directed by the Federal Government. Apparently young people are considered the property of the state. They would be assigned, willy-nilly, to college, to vocational training, to "meaningful" employment, or to labor in a "service program" at home or abroad.

Kirk

Presumably the new Congress will consign Secretary Wirtz's gigantic notion to the limbo of lunatic things. If the Johnson Administration tries to enact such totalist programs, it must be seized with a death-urge. It would be amusing to have Secretaries Wirtz and McNamara expound their principles of youth-direction at Harvard, Brown, and Berkeley.

Just such wondrously arbitrary and incredibly costly proposals for regimenting young people were advanced during the Truman years, two decades ago, after the Second World War. They were beaten down, horse, foot, and dragoons, by Senator Robert Taft and other members of Congress with an affection for the liberty of the citizen. Taft's denunciation of the scheme for Universal Military Training, in 1945, applies little diminished in force to the McNamara and Wirtz arguments.

Putting young men under military discipline, Taft declared then, would not turn them into plaster saints. "It is said that the army will improve their health, and that they need it because so many failed to pass the strict health requirements of the army. As a matter of fact, the great bulk of defects were those relating to teeth, eyes, mental, nervous, and heart conditions, all of which had arisen before the age of conscription. . . . The argument that it would improve the morals of our boys has almost been dropped because of its foolishness. If there is one place where morals will not be improved, it is in the vicinity of army camps. It is true that there are some boys who are benefited by army control, but to improve a few let us not change the whole character of the American life which, I believe, has been the cause of success in this war. It is said that we are going to teach the boys citizenship in the camps. This argument makes clear a real danger in the whole system. By handing boys over for twelve months to the arbitrary and complete domination of the government, we put it in the power of the government to indoctrinate them with the political doctrines then popular with the government. It has all the dangers of federal education and none of its advantages."

Truman's UMT Modest

The Wirtz scheme would conscript both sexes, and for two years. By the side of the Wirtz monstrosity, the Universal Military Training proposal advanced by the Truman Administration was modest. Of UMT, Senator Taft remarked in 1948:

> In this whole field there is no reason why our approach should not be governed by the same principles of liberty as must guide other government programs. UMT is a return to the New Deal belief that results can only be accomplished by government compulsion, and power given to government bureaus. The New Dealers have scoffed at the idea that the people can work out their own salvation, or work out their own problems, without government direction. . . . These methods have failed in the field of economic control. They have failed even to provide the education and social security which is the greatest promise of the New Deal. . . . I believe that in providing a defense against possible foreign attacks on the liberty of our people, we cannot adopt methods by which we ourselves destroy our own liberty.

No man believed more strongly in civic duties, discipline of character, and defense of the national interest than did Robert Taft. But he knew that to subject all young people to the fussy ministrations of a central bureaucracy, under military or quasi-military direction, would produce a servile people and an enfeebled nation.

Too Much, Too Late

Mr. Wirtz's "policy of youth" is founded upon the assumption from which developed the Nazi and the Communist total direction of the rising generation. "Strength through joy" mass undertakings are joyous only for those invested with the power to regiment and indoctrinate young people; and as for national strength, in the long run the energies of compulsion are inferior to the energies of volition.

After more than a generation of inane permissivism in the American family and the American school, some of the leading lights of Liberalism abruptly try to compensate for the disintegrating consequences of their own fallacies by applying centralized political compulsion to the victims of permissivism once they attain the age of eighteen. Some order, indeed, is badly needed in the minds and actions of many of our young people. But the Wirtz cure is as bad as the disease. And besides, it comes too late: the camp counselor and the drill sergeant cannot convert the pampered darling, instanter, into an exemplar of the high old Roman virtue.

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The Half-Waged War

GERHART NIEMEYER

Of all the wars in our history, General LeMay said recently, Vietnam is the only one which this nation tries to fight without dedicating itself to the task. We have failed to assign to it the highest priority, we send men to their deaths for militarily unserious objectives, we vacillate in the declaration of our political purposes. Doubts and qualms about our presence and our fighting in Vietnam are uttered in high places of leadership, while revolutionary opposition in our midst manages to furnish aid and comfort to the enemy, in the full daylight of the law. Our burdens will wax while our conviction may wane. Let no one think that the question, "Why Vietnam?" can long remain unresolved, "for if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for battle?" For many of us, Vietnam may be a faraway theater of strife, but it is also for us a destiny, a decisive issue close to the core of our political existence.

Professor Trager's book gives us a sober, concise, balanced and extremely well-written historical account,

Why Vietnam? by Frank N. Trager. Praeger. $4.95

including the past of Vietnam, the national movement against French rule with its climax at Dien Bien Phu, a most brilliant and penetrating analysis of the Geneva Conference and agreements of 1954, the subsequent "war between the states" north and south, and the accomplishments and failings of the Diem regime. On all the points on which the enemy hopes to reap his harvest from confusion the reader finds sufficient and reliable information.

Of the Geneva Agreement Professor Trager says with ample reason: ". . . Neither the 'essentials' nor the 'specifications' of Geneva '54 should be sought again. They were written in haste and ended in compromise with, and excessive concessions to, the Communist powers." From the outset, South Vietnam rejected partition, called for a UN-supervised cease-fire and subsequent elections, and demanded recognition of the State of Vietnam as the country's sovereign. True to this position, it refused to sign the Geneva 1954 agreement. Today, were we, who also did not sign it, to "go back" to Geneva, we would have to force this pact on our unwilling allies.

The others who did sign violated the agreement even before the ink was dry. Ho Chi Minh called as early as July 1954 for protracted warfare with the aim of bringing the South under his rule. The Communists prevented the departure of tens of thousands who desired to go South, but they left in the South their Communist-trained cadres, which, according to the terms, they should have withdrawn. In their zone, they instituted wholesale terror that would have made a farce of any election, and they refused to have the International Control Commission investigate their aggressive acts of covert warfare. In view of this, Professor Trager rightly criticizes the almost fatal decision to deprive the South Vietnamese Army of responsibility for internal security and civic action, which remained in force between 1956 and 1959. This mistake provided for defense against an invasion, but gave the Communists a virtual green light to aggress through subversion. The Communists were not slow in availing themselves of this opportunity and by 1959 were doing so well that the Lao Dong (Communist) Party in Hanoi openly called for a crusade against the South and subsequently formed the "National Liberation Front".

In his conclusion, Professor Trager demolishes five fallacious views: the fallacy of the "sins of the fathers" (i.e. the French), whose colonial designs we are *not* executing; the fallacy of the "wrong war, wrong place," which people have been mumbling from the time of Korea; the fallacy of "duplicating the past," which in this case means Malaya with its strategic hamlets; the fallacy of the "too-long distance" which actually applies to China more than to us; the fallacy of the irreplaceable Communist appeal, to which the land reforms of Taiwan, Japan, Korea give the lie.

At this point, your reviewer began to miss something. Should Professor Trager not have added the fallacy of the merely local conflict, meaning the interpretation of Vietnam as a civil war or as a war against a hegemony of China? The book points out that there is an element of civil war, but there is also Communist aggression. The larger context of the Communist enterprise does not emerge with clarity. Should one not have been reminded of the Communists who fought for the freedom of France in the *résistance* with the sole design of later setting up their totalitarian power? Did not Lenin ride to power on the coattails of a popular movement demanding land, bread, freedom, all of which his regime later denied? Where is the cause dear to people's hearts which the Communists have not exploited for their hidden ends? There is a chapter in this book about the complex events in the Indochina of the Thirties, but one would have liked an account of the coalitions through which the Communists from 1930 on sought to inject themselves into the cause for national independence, which promised them arms, power, organization. As for later developments, the Soviet Union is unrepresented in its dominant role, though Laos and Vietnam are closely linked to Communist moves, failures, and successes in other parts of the world. As a result,

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China looms so large that, with all the clarification of facts, one cannot escape a mental confinement to the South Asia sphere.

WHO WOULD WANT to justify the sacrifice of American lives for the end of containing China in South Asia? This may be a part of the reason for our fighting but it cannot be the crux of the matter. The whole truth is that the attempt to impose Communism on South Vietnam tests the commitment through which we have joined ourselves to the peoples on the periphery of the Communist empires and others, in a common cause: we to lend them our strength and aid, they to resist Communism. Those who live under the very muzzles of Communist cannons take courage for freedom only from their trust in our word. Should we fail any of them, all the others must despair. If they fall to Communism, our outer defenses collapse and the Red tide sweeps to our very shores. Anti-Communist resistance in the world is of one piece. Our present fighting is our share in this system, and so we wage this war not merely for the peace and freedom of people in South Asia, or the regional balance of power, or the containment of China, but at the same time for our faith, our Constitution, our law, our traditions, our families.

We have not attempted to liberate from Communism any of its present victims—tragically, many of us believe. So it is the Communist greed for new souls which alone compels us to make our stand, today in Vietnam, as we made it yesterday in Greece, Korea, Berlin, and tomorrow may have to do in Thailand, the Philippines, Guatemala, and other places. We are not a "chosen people" and must resist the temptation to set up ourselves as a model for others. But should we ever cease to understand that the power which has become ours in history has a service to do, the service of worldwide protection against Communist conquest, we would have failed our destiny as a nation. That is "Why Vietnam."

LBJ

NEAL FREEMAN

WHEN LYNDON JOHNSON succeeded to the Presidency there were many ironies attaching to the ceremony. One of the most widely remarked of these was that Lyndon Johnson had made his bid for the Presidency and had failed. In 1952, when it was still white shoe to balance Southern racists with Northern ideologues on the national ticket, he had made a feint at the Vice-Presidential nomination. The convention picked amiable John Sparkman. In both 1956 and 1960, he had made ill-conceived, ill-timed lunges for the top spot on the ticket. He was cut down both times, first by the Stevenson sentimentalists and then by the Kennedy *mafiosi*. To carry the critical state of Texas, Johnson had been tossed the second spot on the 1960 ticket. But it was generally conceded that he was through: he could never negotiate eight eunuch years on the New Frontier. The biographers edged forward.

This irony, I say, was widely remarked. But not by Messrs. Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, the authors of a hefty new "political biography" of LBJ. It is their tantalizing thesis—it is a thesis they do not venture to the very tip of the limb—that LBJ advanced on Los Angeles in 1960 precisely with the ambition to nail down the Vice-Presidential nomination on the Kennedy ticket. Their case is persuasive. They argue circumstantially, as they must. First, LBJ had sounded out the relevant lieutenants, some of whom were not altogether surprised. Second, the last two years of Johnson's majority leadership of the Senate had been particularly taxing, and not compensatingly rewarding. President Eisenhower was beginning to get the feel of the veto and the Senate class of 1958—packed with abrasive, academic Liberals—was striking out on its own. Third, there was the question of Johnson's health, which predetermined the position of the Johnson women, whose influence even in important political decisions could never be discounted. Fourth, there was the overarching problem of Lyndon Johnson: he was a regional politician, unable to lift himself to national recognition by his own efforts. A place on the national ticket enabled him at last to escape the choke-hold of the Texas oil barons.

Lyndon B. Johnson: Exercise of Power, by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. New American Library, $7.95

The Johnson Eclipse: A President's Vice Presidency, by Leonard Baker. Macmillan, $5.95

This last point goes far to explain subsequent political history. It explains why, for instance, Johnson was so reluctant to undertake Vice-Presidential forays into the turf of the big-time urban bosses; why Larry O'Brien, the quintessentially *national* politician, was the only member of the New Frontier to make it big in the Great Society; why LBJ has for the most part left the national field to Bobby Kennedy, at prohibitive political expense to himself; and even why LBJ did much of his campaigning from Manila this year. Johnson, in his own mind at least, has not yet completed the transition from regional to national politician.

These last points are my own, but the Evans-Novak account leads right up to them. And to many other revisionist points. Throughout, their book is comprehensive, evenly written, highly informative. Those used to the pop journalism of their daily column (Boy Wonder journalism, in the phrase of their colleague, Washington columnist Robert Spivack) will be surprised to find little of the Evans-Novak formula here: the puffing up of scooplets to major exclusives by the use of asthmatic rhetoric, the exaggeration of minor incidents to which they happen to be privy, the spinning of conspiracy webs (the incumbent malefactor, as regular readers know, is White House aide Marvin Watson). Where momentarily they do give way to compulsive inside-ism, it is amusing or enlightening.

More enlightening is their arm-twisting manual. Precisely where do you grab the arm and what pressure do you apply? What, in Heaven's name, do you say to a United States

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senator to get him to change his vote on an issue that could mortally affect his political future? It's all here, in so many words. And, along the way, a hundred unintended reminders that John Kennedy was a no-account senator and a Presidential mediocrity. We sometimes forget. (I hasten to add for media taxonomists that Evans and Novak do not turn out to be Southern Democrats. This book tends to confirm that opinion of their personal ideologies—to which Mr. Spivack, among others, subscribes—which puts them in the Bobby Kennedy camp, and not in the GOP Left-middle. Hark: "For the most part, the power of Lyndon Johnson had been well-used for public purpose. His Senate had censured Joe McCarthy, passed the first civil rights act since Reconstruction and subdued a brief but concentrated assault on the Supreme Court by the reactionaries.")

Lyndon B. Johnson: Exercise of Power attempts "to show how the Public Person sought, achieved, and dispersed power, particularly after he became Senate Democratic Leader in January 1953." It succeeds, admirably.

IT IS unfortunate for Leonard Baker that he should run into such stiff competition, but I doubt that his book would look much better than it does if it stood alone. There is just no excuse for a book on Lyndon Johnson's Vice Presidency, any more than there is an excuse for one on Hubert Humphrey's. If the publisher had asked me, which thoughtfully he didn't, I would have suggested the subtitle, "A Thousand Days As Seen From Under a Rock."

Mr. Baker, formerly a Washington correspondent for the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* and *Newsday*, and now a free-lance writer for the Liberal journals, appears to be quite creative, at least more so than Lyndon Johnson ever was, in his treatment of the Vice Presidency. But the pressure he mounts is mostly rhetorical. In one place: ". . . his attempts at diplomacy were viewed with some alarm by the professional diplomats. Johnson, however, turned out to be a smashing success. His first trip abroad as a goodwill messenger [*sic*] was to Senegal, an African nation which was celebrating its independence." If memory serves, it was not one of the century's great diplomatic breakthroughs. Again, debunking, "There is a belief that the Vice President is completely subject to the whims of the man who is President." Well, it does enjoy somewhat more currency than the notion that the earth is conical.

But what I most object to in Mr. Baker's book is that he is egregiously wrong on a number of occasions. In speaking of a rebuff Johnson had received at the hands of the Senate, Mr. Baker states, "As Vice President-elect Lyndon Johnson walked into the Democratic caucus on January 3, he did not have that [necessary] understanding of the Senate." His trousers, maybe, but he had not forgotten the

Random Notes

● BOOKS AHEAD: How long can Bobby wait? How long can you, to read Ralph de Toledano's *RFK: The Man Who Would Be President?* Contain yourself until February next, when Putnam will publish at $6.95. . . . What ho! Just as our copy of *Winnie Ille Pu* grows too covered with cup-rings to leave on the coffee table any longer, comes news that Dutton will shortly issue an American edition of *Vinni-Pukh i Vse-Vse-Vse,* Russian translation of *Winnie the Pooh* and *The House at Pooh Corner* which has sold some 300,000 copies Over There. . . . The late Lucius Beebe (would that he were really hiding in Argentina) lives on in a just-published collection of columns he wrote for the *San Francisco Chronicle. The Provocative Pen of Lucius Beebe* is available from Chronicle Printing Co., San Francisco, for $5.95. . . . Three for admirers of Anthony Burgess and/or James Joyce: a paperback edition of Burgess' 1949 novel, *A Vision of Battlements* (Ballantine, 60 cents); *Re Joyce,* his informal study published in England as *Here Comes Everybody* (Ballantine, 95 cents), and *A Shorter Finnegans Wake,* wherein Burgess boils down the original to a third of its length (Viking, February, $5). . . . And lest anyone forget, this waning year marks the 60th anniversary of that boon to genteel folk of reduced means, that delight of young used-bookstore rummagers, Everyman's Library. To celebrate the occasion, E. P. Dutton has published *An Everyman's Anthology* containing 141 selections from the over 1,000 titles in the series.

● TIDBITS: EMI, the British record company, recently released a thousand discs of bagpipe music to dealers before discovering a small error. *Variety* reports that hundreds of the records were sold and none returned by purchasers despite the fact that in making them, the master tape was run backwards (could *you* have told the difference?). . . . No, your friendly local bookdealer has not joined the Sexual Freedom League. That lapel button reading "KISS ME, I'M LEFT-HANDED" is to promote James T. DeKay's *The Left-Handed Book,* recently published by M. Evans. . . . A German has devised and patented a beer cooler-dispenser intended to be attached to television sets.

● THE TARNISHED SILVER SCREEN: Carlo Ponti seeks David Niven to play opposite Mrs. Ponti in *Murder Italian Style.* . . . Samuel Goldwyn Jr. and John Ford may produce a film based on Howard Fast's novel of the very Revolutionary War, *April Morn.* . . . Those excellent British animators, Halas & Batchelor, are preparing a series of five-minute kiddie cartoons for Westinghouse Television, based on Crockett Johnson's *Barnaby* comic strip—the only reason *PM* lasted as long as it did, cushlamochree! . . . But, to spoil that, comes news that the folks over to Hanna-Barbera Productions are hard at work on a half-hour TV cartoon series about Huck Finn (*vide* this magazine, June 14, 1966, pp. 584 *et seq.*). . . . Highly recommended for late-show addicts is Bantam's reissue of Steve Scheuer's *TV Key Movie Guide,* which lists, describes, and rates over 5,000 films released for television airing (published, $1).

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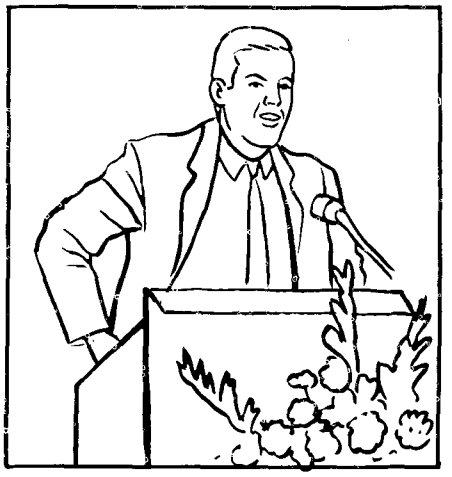

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Senate. And again, "The [Ralph] Yarborough vote against Johnson [on a Democratic Policy Committee matter] in 1960 revealed how deep ran the split in the Texas Democratic Party." That split had been revealed *ad nauseam* in the national press for years before the Yarborough vote.

Mr. Baker's book is probably the result of an overzealous editor's solicitations. Lyndon Johnson was to John Kennedy what Hubert Humphrey is now to Johnson—and there is not the stuff of a full-sized book in either of those relationships. The final indignity bestowed on Mr. Johnson's years in the Vice Presidency is that the only book ever written about them has more in it of the Kennedys, Jack and Bobby, than of Lyndon Johnson.

C. S. Lewis' Renaissance

JARED LOBDELL

HE WAS, IT IS TRUE, Professor of Medieval and Renaissance English in the University of Cambridge, so it cannot be claimed that this last collection of C. S. Lewis' essays has been mistitled. But he was also the subject of Nevill Coghill's story of an encounter at Oxford:

". . . I saw him coming slowly towards me, his round, rubicund face beaming with pleasure to itself. When we came within speaking distance, I said 'Hullo, Jack! You look very pleased with yourself; what is it?'

"'I believe' he answered, with a modest smile of triumph, 'I *believe* I have proved that the Renaissance never happened in England. *Alternatively*'—he held up his hand to prevent my astonished exclamation—'that if it did, *it had no importance.*'"

Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature, by C.S. Lewis. Collected by Walter Hooper. Cambridge University Press, $5.95

In the face of that, Mr. Hooper is at the very least a brave man to choose this title. And yet, these essays are about the literature of those times which fall within the somewhat ill-defined bounds of what we call the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. More specifically, they are about the epic literature of those times, even if, in Tasso's case, it is an "epic in madrigals" of which Professor Lewis writes. Even more specifically, they are for the most part about the changing relationship of book to author over the period from, say, 1200 to 1600, from the writing of Layamon's *Brut* to the death of Spenser (though there is a brief note on Milton's *Comus* at the end).

What is more, these essays show, however right Lewis may have been in doubting the existence of the Renaissance in England (and at worst his view is a much-needed corrective to the extravagances of earlier literary historians), that there was a change in poetic genesis over those four centuries. Reading what Mr. Hooper has collected from Lewis' few remaining unpublished essays, and some of the less accessible published ones, leads me, at least, to the conclusion that the degree of self-consciousness attendant upon the construction of poetry increased fairly steadily, if slowly, from the time of the Crusaders to that of Queen Elizabeth.

In the first part of this period, "texts have come into existence by a process quite foreign to modern literature. The scholar's ideal of accuracy in translation, the historian's ideal of fidelity to a document, and the artist's ideal of originality, are all alike absent. . . . In one way [the authors] seem enslaved to their originals; it never occurs to them to break these up and melt the slivers down and forge out of them an essentially new work. But . . . they do not hesitate to supplement them from their own knowledge, and still more from their own imagination. . . ." It is as though a translator of Vergil should digress in the midst of his translation to speak (still in verse and with no apparent break) about something which has been brought to his mind in the process of translation. That, of course, happens in Gavin Douglas' great medieval translation of the *Aeneid,* and it is perhaps the latest example of what Lewis is discussing here.

And when the imagination supplements the author's material, it does

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so largely by tying it to earth. Not only in Layamon (Godlac, on hearing of his mistress' marriage, being revived by cold well-water in his face, or the ships in Ursula's fleet ducking in and out of sight in the wild storm), but in the much greater poetry of Dante, the matter is extraordinary, but the manner that of daily life. It is "this continual reference both to the quiet moistened earth and to the resonant pavements, workshops, and floors, which support and make convincing [Dante's] invention of a Heaven which, in the obvious sense, makes very few concessions to the natural man." But perhaps invention is not quite the best word. For in another place Professor Lewis remarks that "the highest reach of the whole poetic art turns out to be a kind of abdication, and is attained when the whole image of the world the poet sees has entered so deeply into his mind that henceforth he has only to get himself out of the way, to let the seas roll and the mountains shake their leaves or the light shine and the spheres revolve, and all this will be poetry."

It would seem that the greatest poetry is not self-conscious. It is not purely original either, for as Lewis points out, not the scheme, nor the physics, nor the metaphysics of the *Comedy* are Dante's own, and it is on these that the great progress of the poetry chiefly depends. Most of all, it is not constructed: it writes itself irresistibly. But if the growth of self-conscious poetic construction was as Lewis has suggested it was, it will follow that the Middle Ages were capable of greater poetry than the Renaissance. It will also follow that, as self-consciousness is a necessary ingredient for the criticism of a poet's work, they were capable of accepting, if not necessarily of writing, far worse. But that is another story.

And yet—and yet—even in 1600, even with Spenser, we are enjoying the poetry of an older school than Shakespeare's. "Spenser, with his conscious mind, knew only the least part of what he was doing, and we are never sure that we have got to the end of his significance. The water is very clear, but we cannot see to the bottom. That is one of the delights of the older kind of poetry: 'thoughts beyond their thoughts to those high bards were given.'" There has been a change over the years to 1600—but a much greater change is in the offing.

These essays show the lesser and gradual change, but they show also (say, rather, they suggest, as much of Professor Lewis' best work has suggested) that rumors of the death of the Middle Ages have been greatly exaggerated. The Renaissance never happened in England or, alternatively, if it did, it had no importance.

Finally, they show how much we have lost with Professor Lewis' death. One can look forward to an edition of his lecture notes on Spenser: one can, perhaps, expect the re-publication of some of his other essays and fugitive pieces—but one still wishes for the impossible, that C. S. Lewis were still alive in Oxford and writing with his accustomed brilliance.

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Fiction

The Unfathomable Human Spirit

THOMAS MOLNAR

READING THE NOVELS of Bernanos, I am always struck by his great attention to descriptions of physical suffering. His characters suffer from disease and intolerable pain. At times the disease is specific and it permeates its victim like a hot iron rod turning in his body (the tuberculosis of Mouchette's mother, the cancer of the curé d'Ambricourt). But even when organic disease is not present, the mystery of suffering is there in its acutest, physical forms. These descriptions of bodily ills take the place of passages where ordinarily we would expect some "psychological" analysis. Of the latter, strictly speaking, there is very little; the two worlds of Bernanos' fiction are the physical and the spiritual, in striking correlation.

Mouchette, by Georges Bernanos. Holt, $3.95

The case of Mouchette illustrates this very well. The fourteen-year-old girl lives like a little savage animal, and her surroundings barely allow her to exist even on that level. A drunkard of a father who beats her, a tubercular mother at the last gasp, brutal brothers, a sarcastic teacher, cruelly teasing schoolmates close the circle of her world. Her inner world is consumed in freeing herself from these forces become destiny. Thus her thoughts about herself can only be confused and fitful, her glimpses of something better too rare. She is unformed, bodily and morally.

At this level of Mouchette's oneness with nature, at which the adult world too is seen as part of the landscape, the girl's reactions are those of a little being of the forest. Through

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er the rain, the trees, the stream, he beaten walls of the village are elt by the reader as sensations, mostly of pain and despair, since nature's railings sound like the sighs of the nredeemed. Then, under the storment trees of the forest Mouchette ncounters Monsieur Arsène, the oung poacher known to the entire rovince, known also to Mouchette rough her father's smuggling operations.

What follows is the typical Bernanosian theme, when the ineffably niserable meets one mired deeper till in the mud of human existence. n the *Diary of a Country Priest* the oung curé's meeting, with members f the Count's household, one after ne other, revealed his own immense piritual strength. In the same way Iouchette, with her rudimentary extence, now finds in Arsène a rounded animal, drunk, epileptic, ull of fear, with chunks of flesh bitn off his hand in some savage fight. he two beings of the forest communicate in half-words, hardly heard n the storm, and with half-gestures, arely seen in the hut where they eek refuge. Arsène takes Mouchette, ot so much from lust as from a deserate effort to find a solid point in ne day's confusion. But for Mouette the act is a sign that someone lies on her, someone perhaps more eeply sunk in hopelessness than ne: Arsène will need an alibi when ne gendarmes catch up with him. fer vague vagabond existence may ow turn into womanly defiance of ose stalking her lover.

The following morning Mouchette ears that Arsène has been arrested. is not the first time and for him ight be only an episode. But the an has stirred in Mouchette layers deep that the girl is now transrmed. While almost asleep with exaustion, she hears an old woman's ory that the ebbing of life in one ay make another stronger, more gorous. An hour later Mouchette ips quietly into the shallow village nd and drowns herself. "She could ld herself up in the shallow water the pressure of one hand on the ttom. Then she twisted over and oked up into the sky. She felt the sidious flow of the water along her ad and neck, filling her ears with joyful sound. She knew that life as slipping away from her, and the ell of the grave itself rose to her strils."

It is Bernanos' art that this brutal tale is delicately told, without any cause for revulsion or indignation. The secret of this tact is the understanding of the spiritual; in Bernanos' novels, although his characters live in the depth of misery, whipped in body and soul, every gesture is also a *sign* and nothing is gratuitous. *Mouchette* is one of the few stories in which there are no priests, indeed no religion; the girl might have been a little pagan or just a defiant little rebel. Yet it is not forcing a comparison to say that Mouchette has much in her of the curé d'Ambricourt, the same pride and honor: the acceptance of sacrifice.

Only superior beings are open to sacrifice, and since they seek it out with a kind of Geiger counter, the signs multiply around them. Because they live in a signifying milieu, the sacrifice will be meaningful: no matter who the object, the gain is God's. Mouchette becomes an instrument of charity, and her death, unknown to Arsène, is offered up for him.

There is no other writer today with the same courage, except in Russia where, significantly, the suffering is greatest. I mean the courage to ignore the "social" dimension and hence to ignore "evolutionary optimism," our newest straitjacket. Yet Bernanos writes of ordinary, of little people, and of the most miserable among them: a priest with cancer and another who has lost his faith, of poachers, smugglers, drunkards, rapists, girls turned bad, and slaves of passion (like the other Mouchette, in *Sous le soleil de Satan*). Or of counts, marquis, prelates, carved of the same wood: miserable sinners, woman-chasers, whited sepulchers, boasting yet frail objects of their own pride and appetites. How many opportunities Bernanos had to work out a "social context," to have a thesis, to order around "social types"! He sovereignly neglected to do so. He knew that people carry the burden of a great secret in their entrails and in their hearts, and that even such a one as a Mouchette is an unfathomable mystery.

Art

The New Whitney

PETER P. WITONSKI

The Whitney family, long doyens of contemporary American culture, have presented New York City with its first "camp" museum—a place where Jacqueline Kennedy's *haut goût* is consanguineous to Andy Warhol's *Elizabeth Taylor Period* and Stephen Antonakos' multicolored, neon gargoyles. The new Whitney Museum of American Art, which opened its doors to the public in September, is a monument to the ephemeral and deciduous taste of its jet-set patrons; a $4-million rebellion by Marcel Breuer against the prevailing architecture of Madison Avenue—his bid to surpass the apocalyptic excesses of the late Frank Lloyd Wright's Guggenheim Museum; and a closet in which the emperor's new clothes and, on occasion, the emperor, will hang with sublime familiarity.

But there is more to the new Whitney than ostentatious braggadocio. The Whitney is an idea about the possibilities of American art which transcends all the chatter about Marcel Breuer's tenuously balanced inverted pyramid, and forces the critic to ask certain basic questions. For example, is there now, or has there ever been, such a thing as great—or even unique—American art? The Whitney's answer to such a question is, of course, yes. American art, such as it is, is the Whitney's only reason for existence; it is the stimulus that led the foundress, Gertrude Vanderbilt Whit-

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ney, to renounce the sportive joys of the debutante party for the bohemian atmosphere of her Studio Club (which was the precursor of the present museum) and the companionship of the Ashcan painters, Robert Henri, John Sloan, and George Bellows. It is this almost Emersonian belief in the significance of American art—especially, one sadly laments, contemporary American art—that moves the museum's most ardent votaries ("The Friends of the Whitney Museum of American Art") to lubricate its coffers with an endless supply of money.

That the American spirit (an inadequate but necessary term) has all too rarely sought to express itself in the plastic arts does not seem to bother the museum's arch-supporters, most of whom are quite willing to accept virtually anything as great art. Indeed, one can only imagine their heuristic sense of delight each time they purchase another grotesque "happening" for the Whitney's already absurd permanent collection. One longs for the redoubtable old Campbell's Soup can of yore when confronted with Mark di Suvero's "New York at Dawn (For Lorca)," or Lucas Samaras' cankerous-looking "Untitled Box Number Three" (both gifts of the Howard and Jean Lipman Foundation, Inc.). While American art has never been great in the sense that Flemish or Italian or French art have been great, it certainly has never been as bad as it is today.

It is to the Whitney's credit that its premier exhibition—"Art in the United States: 1670-1966"—served as an overview of the entire panorama of American art, from the earliest colonial primitives down to the present era. Here was certainly American art at its best: the technical competence of Thomas Eakins, the elegant slickness of John Singer Sargent, the Tahitian adumbrations of John La Farge. While lacking the comprehensive totality of last year's American retrospective at the Metropolitan Museum, the exhibition was outstanding in its treatment of such neglected figures as Albert Ryder, one of the most singular of American painters, whose hauntingly melancholy pale horse on a pale rider, in "The Race Track," was one of the most memorable paintings in the entire show. The fact that the Peal family was better represented than Winslow Homer is at least partially alleviated by the attention given Ryder.

Of course, no Whitney opening would be complete without the presence of the Ashcan painters; and so Sloan and Luks and Glackens and Henri were there *en masse*. But what of their greatest representative, George Bellows? He was virtually ignored, save for his powerful depiction of the Dempsey-Firpo fight, which was one of the most popular paintings in the exhibition. Why no attempt was made to borrow Bellows' "Stag at Sharky's"—the brutal apotheosis of Ashcan painting—from the Cleveland Museum, remains a mystery.

Had the retrospective stopped at the Ashcan School and avoided going into the degeneracy of the Pop painters, all might have been forgiven. But when it came to displaying the efforts of Robert Rauschenberg, Larry Rivers and Robert Motherwell, nothing was omitted. Here was one vast heap of junk, perhaps best personified by an untitled opus of Jasper Johns', which consists of exactly nine dirty beer cans and about thirty old paint rags.

In the months to come, the Whitney will devote its attention to John Quidor (who found the works of Washington Irving worthy of illustration), Niles Spencer, Edwin Dickinson, and Stuart Davis. There will also be exhibitions of geometric and abstract painting and sculpture (from the permanent collection), and contemporary American painting and sculpture. The degree to which these exhibitions will be attractive to the public remains to be seen. One thing is certain, however: the Whitney Museum, with all its money and potential for displaying great art, has to date failed to convince (Homer, Eakins, and Ryder to the contrary) that there is such a thing as great or unique American art.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE CHINA DANGER, by Richard L. Walker (American Bar Association, $1.00). That split (schism, rift, conflict) between Moscow and Peking has been the subject of all sorts of analysis and speculation. Walker, certainly one of the most astute and solid of our specialists on China, explores the old areas with new insight and uncover some new materials that have bee missed before. For instance, h notes that the great debate abou who is doing more to bury the im perialists has served to restor some attraction to Communis doctrine. This is true, he says, be cause the tirades from both side are delivered in ideological term and because Western judgment about the split usually talk in term of which Communist power i "right" rather than in terms o which "is more divorced from th real world in its ideological commitment." Walker's volume range over the entire aspect of Chines Communist political activity. It i easily the best-written, most logical, and most persuasive worl available on the subject. It is short inexpensive, and completely up-to-date.

W. D. JACOB

HONEY AND WAX: PLEASURE AN POWERS OF NARRATIVE, an anthology assembled by Richard Stern (Chicago, $7.95). The stultifier o the anthology racket (and mainstay of publishers) is that anthologies are made of anthologies. Th family resemblance as the genera tions spawn becomes ridiculous The ingrowth stops only when man of taste convinces a publishe that he can compete with a nev hand. Richard Stern, professo and novelist (*Golk, In Any Case Stitch*), puts forward an engagin contender. Mr. Stern's selection are wide and, as the title implies of writing that's rich in matte executed with the surest touch c a fine craftsman. He is principall interested in displaying narrativ that makes an excellent transcrip tion of life, and invites us to ap preciate the diversities of manne in which this can be done. Henc there is a letter of Joyce's, a cant of Pound's, a song of Schubert' to words of Heine (the music printed), and a catholic exhibit authors. As a broadener of an reader's scope of interest, as textbook, as a book to keep hand for idle reading, this succulent an thology distinguishes itself. M Stern is himself a writer of fetch ing talent and originality; his fres perspicacity as an anthologis shows him to be an excellent criti as well.

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AUBERON WAUGH

(Continued from p. 1314)

of goodwill. Its members are some of the pleasantest people on our earth. Already the Primate has expressed himself ready to accept concessions from the Church of Rome in the matter of mixed marriages. Yet the best method of expressing goodwill to the Anglican Church will always be to denounce it as the idle, dishonest, time-wasting pseudochurch it is.

But the gloom cannot end there. What sort of church are the Catholic theologians nowadays asking their separated brethren to join? There is nothing, I suggest, in the new-look Catholicism which would tempt an adventurous chicken to cross the road. Since they have lost sight of the meaning of love and goodwill, one can only hope that they will look at the grass on the other side of the fence. Belief in the Devil declined long before the modern movement, but a little scrutiny, even through their rose-tinted spectacles, might reveal an active and powerful force for evil abroad in the world which is simply not being held in check by their fatuous expression of sympathy.

Until then, Christians can only take refuge in pious anti-clericalism.

"Heap on more wood!—the wind is chill
But let it whistle as it will
We'll keep our Christmas merry still."

TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from p. 1300)

by further technological innovation; and this interval may be one year, five years, eight years, or whatever. No system is expected to be omnipotent for decades. My own experience, as a physicist working on re-entry problems at organizations such as AVCO Corp., is a decent illustration: one month we would work up a re-entrant decoy scheme for the Air Force, while the next month might be spent working out missile-decoy discrimination techniques for the Army which were applicable to the preceding scheme (the Air Force usually won). In the last five years—during which time the B-70 or a system of similar scope might have been developed nearly to the operational point—the country has effectively been borrowing against the future. If development were rebegun on such a system today, there would still remain the seven- or eight-year time lag to completion of the project. It may be that the President's juvenile enthusiasm for "surprises" runs even to defense systems; that he will soon reveal the hitherto surreptitious development of a sophisticated long-range bomber system. But it is difficult today to conceal the expenditure of, say, $13.5 billion, what with the opening of the welfare floodgates. Of course, Mr. McNamara—according to his own predilections—regards any bomber system as merely "a supplementary weapon." My own predilections, I am obliged to confess, betray a different bias.

Sacramento, Calif. J. F. SCHIPPER

Although in the past I have enjoyed very much Mr. Burnham's writings, I see from the letters to the editor that many enjoyed the rambling dissertation on Mr. McNamara no more than I.

The point avoided by most when speaking of McNamara is that he is only doing his job. Congress passed a bill to disarm the United States; the State Department worked out the plan; an Mr. McNamara is merely carrying it ou Why criticize a conscientious publi servant? If you do not like what i being done, change the law.

Atlanta, Ga. F. H. BENNIN

The McNamara Debate will be con tinued. —EI

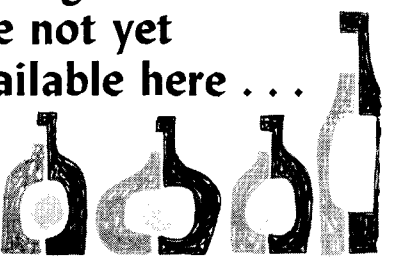
SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM (December 13)

EVAN JOHN SIMPSON

TIME IN THE EAST:

Bureaucracy is a habit, easily growing into a vice, and the habit of interfering with other people's lives is an easy one to acquire. Put any man into office, and he may be an addict within six months. And he may never be able to shake the habit off.

Some of the very best Portuguese wines are not yet available here . . .



. . . but several are!

Ask your wine merchant to show you his current selection of fine Portuguese wines. Try them. You will find that:

1 *there is an excellent Portuguese wine for almost any occasion*; and*

2 *these quality wines sell at bargain prices compared to other fine imported wines.*

For example, the vinhos verdes, which are shipped in delightful green flasks (many people use them for flowers), are excellent with seafood—nothing goes better, needless to say, with skinless-and-boneless "Product of Portugal" sardines. Next time you entertain, begin with that combination. See for yourself.

CASA DE PORTUGAL
PORTUGUESE INFORMATION
TOURIST & TRADE OFFICE

**For an apertif, try Madeira. There is one for every taste, from sweet (ask for Malmsey) to very dry (Rainwater Madeira). For special occasions, serve sparkling Portuguese Rosé. Portuguese red or white table wines go naturally with good food. And, of course, genuine Port wine comes only from the Douro region of Portugal.*

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TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

DEFINITIONS

A. A swimmer, Greek mythology

B. A former foreign policy that the China lobby would like to reinstate

C. What a creche represents

D. A short story by William S. Porter

E. This man painted Word C (half of 'C' being the painting's title)

F. Be opened (Mark 7:34)

G. Baggage

H. A child

I. Remnants

J. A man who starts at the bottom and works up—or at the top and works down

K. Name of a little girl in the comics

WORDS

101 7 114 2 218 161 92

104 9 41 40 143 97 217 187

107 10 25 30 195 49 61 20 73 37 76

79 87

141 11 51 93 96 82 103 109 113 19 151

174 182

180 12 23 42 64 80 90 115 220 71 147

186 112 160 192 202 177 108 45 211

198 132 65 95 205 189 122

221 144 201 213 179 22 52 135 116

224 3 18 47 55 67 98 106 111 117 59

219 13 32 68 70 16 99 85 8 214 57

62

4 63 24 197 153 165

DEFINITIONS

L. Christmas music by a famous composer—his name (possessive) + the title

M. Mother of John the Baptist

N. A short story by Charles Dickens

O. Felt compunction

P. Behaved (also what one might have been had he not behaved)

Q. Unscramble (or scramble) WORMROOT (do it now—don't put it off)

R. Esteemed

S. Gifted

T (+ U) Where Micah said Jesus Christ would be born

U. See T

V. Exercised the visual sense

W. A trick performed by aviators

X. A Christmas carol

WORDS

21 1 5 6 17 102 145 69 150 162 31

46 48 54

27 183 200 77 66 14 207 118 190

36 86 26 53 58 60 74 105 91 125 206

134 155 157 178

43 120 166 204 227 184 210 136

50 226 203 81 128 191 169 137

56 78 126 154 28 193 208 170

75 88 209 216 171 29 133

84 89 152 172 199 35 156

121 38 148 159 222 139 168 194 225

129 83 176 212 181 223 196 185

130 39 142 72 164 149

163 15 33 34 44 94 110 123 127 131 140

175 100 124 138 146 158 173 188 215 119 167

See page 1338 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram.

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, blank boxes indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the author's of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.

1 L	2 A	3 I		4 K	5 L		6 L	7 A	8 J	9 B	10 C	11 D	12 E		13 J		14 M
15 W	16 J	17 L	18 I		19 D	20 C		21 L	22 H	23 E	24 K		25 C	26 N	27 M	28 Q	29 R
	30 C	31 L		32 J	33 W		34 W	35 S	36 N	37 C	38 T		39 V	40 B		41 B	42 E
43 O	44 W	45 F		46 L		47 I	48 L	49 C	50 P		51 D	52 H	53 N		54 L	55 I	56 Q
57 J		58 N	59 I		60 N	61 C	62 J	63 K	64 E	65 G		66 M	67 I	68 J		69 L	70 J
71 E	72 V	73 C		74 N	75 R	76 C		77 M	78 Q	79 C	80 E		81 P	82 D		83 U	84 S
85 J	86 N	87 C		88 R	89 S		90 E	91 N	92 A	93 D	94 W		95 G	96 D	97 B	98 I	
99 J	100X	101A	102L		103D	104B		105N	106I	107C		108F	109D	110W	111I		112F
113D	114A	115E	116H	117I		118M	119X	120O		121T	122G	123W	124X	125N		126Q	127W
128P	129U		130V	131W	132G	133R		134N	135H	136O		137P	138X	139T	140W		141D
142V	143B		144H	145L		146X	147E	148T		149V	150L	151D	152S		153K	154O	155N
	156S	157N	158X	159T		160F	161A		162L	163W	164V	165K	166O		167X	168T	169P
	170O	171R	172S	173X	174D		175X	176U	177F	178N	179H		180E	181U	182D	183M	
184O	185U	186F		187B	188X	189G	190M	191P		192F	193Q	194T	195C	196U	197K	198G	
199S	200M	201H	202F		203P	204O	205G	206N	207M		208Q	209R		210O	211F	212U	213H
214J		215X	216R	217B	218A		219J	220E	221H	222T		223U	224I		225T	226P	227O

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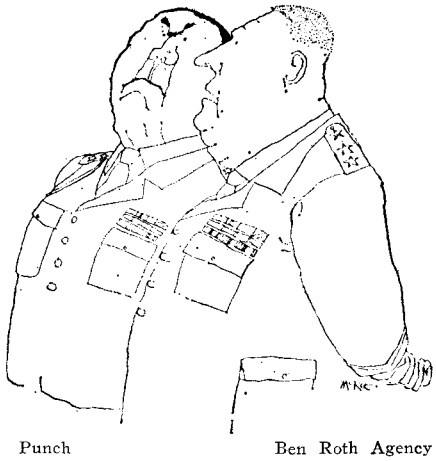
FOR THE RECORD

■ Cool was verdict on behavior of Ohio Gov. **James Rhodes** at Colorado Springs GOP Governors Conference. Rhodes refused to be drawn into '68 power struggle, is believed to want to control bloc of Midwestern delegates (he has the 58 Ohio votes) and make his play at convention time . . . Sen. **Hugh Scott**'s commitment to **George Romney** could cost GOP Liberals dear. Scott was in line for chairmanship of Senate Campaign Committee (that's where the money is) which **Thruston Morton** is relinquishing; combination of his pro-Romneyism, anti-conservatism, could now throw it to Sen. **George Murphy** . . . . California Democrats think they have answer in charm-line to Murphy and **Ronald Reagan.** Actor **Gregory Peck.** Would he be interested? Reply: "I am hardly indifferent to the idea of public service." Specific race: to contest **Thomas Kuchel**'s Senate seat in '68 which **Sam Yorty,** a not - so - Liberal Democrat, also is angling for . . . . Texas AFL-CIO leaders boast they threw senatorial election to Republican **John Tower** by withholding support from Democrat **Waggoner Carr** who was insufficiently Liberal for labor's liking.

■ Almost sorry for **Bertrand Russell** and his ill-fated war crimes trial. Now both British and French authorities have ruled invalid the visa held by Russell's chief aide in organizing the tribunal, the American Princetonian **Ralph Schoenman.** Pres. Léopold Senghor, who pulled out as sponsor a month ago, now adds that he "refuses to issue any unilateral condemnations in the Vietnamese war" which, after all, "Pres. Johnson inherited." French authorities who have informed Lord Russell he can't hold his trial on their soil last week also kayoed a move by Vietcong to set up an "information" office in Paris . . . . Parson **Martin Niemoller** (anti-Nazi, fellow traveler) is reported by *Worker* to have collected DM 300,-000 for North Vietnamese war relief . . . . Norwegian students, irritated at anti-U.S. demonstrations, have erected a replica of Berlin Wall near the parliament in Oslo which bears the sign: "The Berlin Wall is a Breach of Human Rights."

■ Bust, publicity-wise, the Madison Square Garden rally of SANE on Dec. 8 to protest Vietnam war. It got five inches of type on p. 33 of *New York Times.* Only a couple of inches more in *Washington Post.* Could it be presence on platform of far-outers like **Pete Seeger** (favorite entertainer at Communist Party affairs) and Black Powerite **Floyd McKissick**? . . . Now very prominent in get-out-of-Vietnam movement, former UN official **Conor Cruise** (get-into-Katanga) **O'Brien.** He was featured speaker at recent New York rally which also headlined draft card burner **David Miller** . . . . **Robert Williams,** the Negro revolutionary who was once **Fidel Castro**'s pet anti - U.S. propagandist, now in Peking, editor of newsletter *Crusader.* Sample item: "The most noble cry to come out of racist America since the Boston Tea Party [well known for its noble cry] is the cry: Burn, baby, burn.' . . . General Assembly of National Council of Churches wrestled mightily with its conscience last week, then voted down section of its resolution on Vietnam commending the Administration for "repeated efforts to restore peace by bringing the war to the conference table."



Punch Ben Roth Agency

"I had this terrible dream. It was all over. We'd beaten the Viet Cong. The South had their first election. They voted in a Commie government."

■ Net closing in on **Sukarno.** At trial of Air Marshal Dhani fortnight ago it was disclosed that when Sukarno was informed that six anti-Communist generals had been murdered in the attempted Oct. 1, 1965 coup, he remarked: "Good. This is an event in the revolution." . . . Two weeks later, a member of the government (Deputy Education Minister Mashuri) came out for Sukarno's trial for complicity in the plot—the first time any top official has mentioned such a course . . . . More trouble for the Chinese Communists. London *Sunday Telegraph* reports 5,000 Red Chinese troops recently killed in new Tibet rebellion. German news agency Springer adds details: Revolt mounted by Camba tribesmen, according to German report, has succeeded in blocking supply line to Peking troops in western Tibet . . . . Eastern European sources confirm recent reports that Soviet Union has shifted some fighting units from Eastern Europe to Red China border . . . . Chinese Communist-backed movement in Philippines also hurt by death in battle of **Commander Oscar,** third-ranking Huk leader.

■ Going the rounds of Republican political circles: **George Romney** wants the Presidency—as a stepping-stone.

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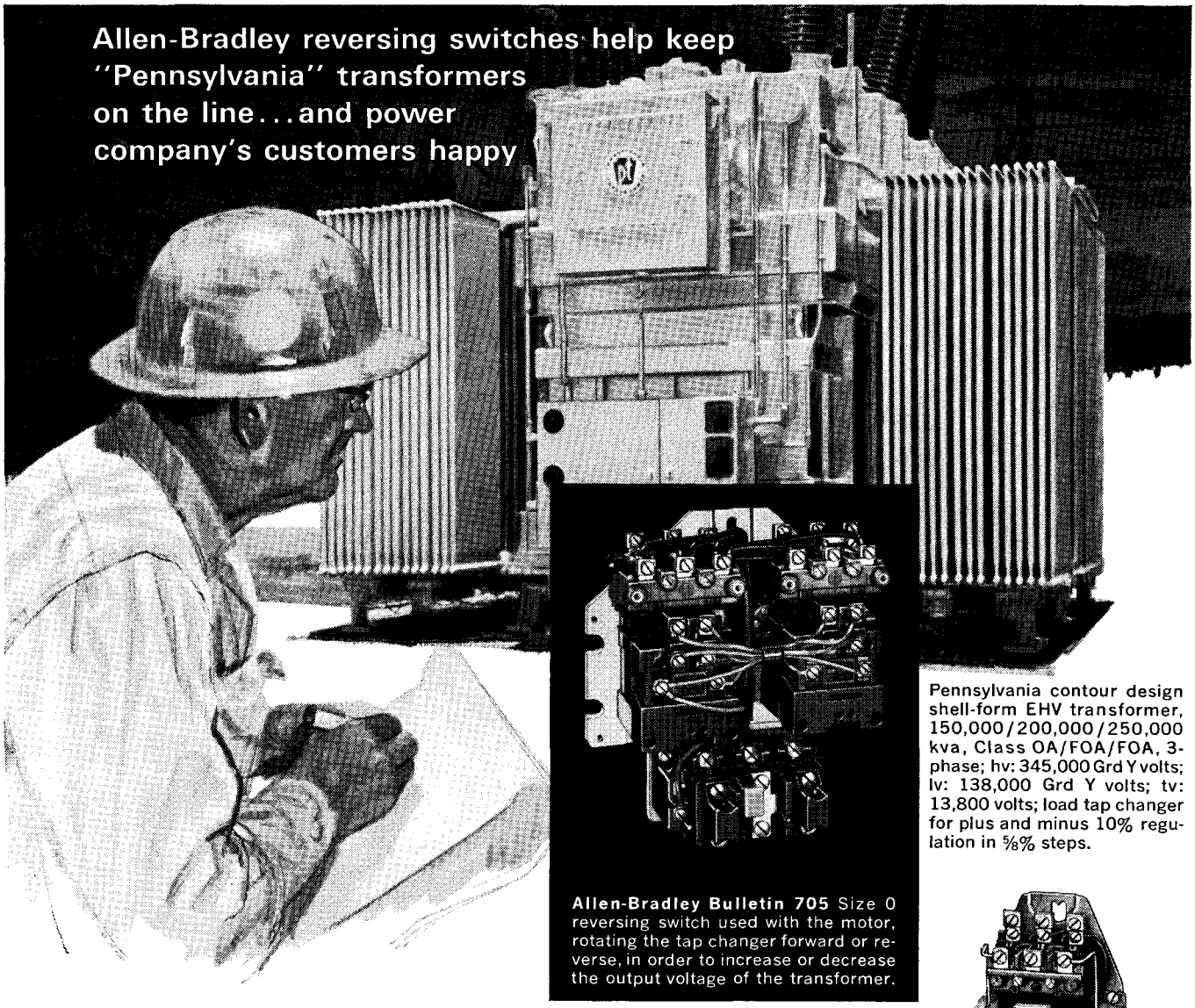
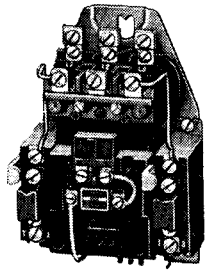
Allen-Bradley reversing switches help keep "Pennsylvania" transformers on the line...and power company's customers happy



Allen-Bradley Bulletin 705 Size 0 reversing switch used with the motor, rotating the tap changer forward or reverse, in order to increase or decrease the output voltage of the transformer.

Pennsylvania contour design shell-form EHV transformer, 150,000/200,000/250,000 kva, Class OA/FOA/FOA, 3-phase; hv: 345,000 Grd Y volts; lv: 138,000 Grd Y volts; tv: 13,800 volts; load tap changer for plus and minus 10% regulation in ⅝% steps.



Allen-Bradley Bulletin 709 Size 1 starter. Four such starters are used on the transformer for operating pump motors.

■ Load tap changing equipment by Pennsylvania Transformer, a division of McGraw-Edison Company, has an established reputation for reliability—achieved by their taking infinite pains with every detail of design, manufacture, and assembly. Every part for every Pennsylvania load tap changer is individually checked against rigid standards—nothing is taken for granted. And, as a consequence, Pennsylvania Transformer has chosen A-B control because of its demonstrated dependability.

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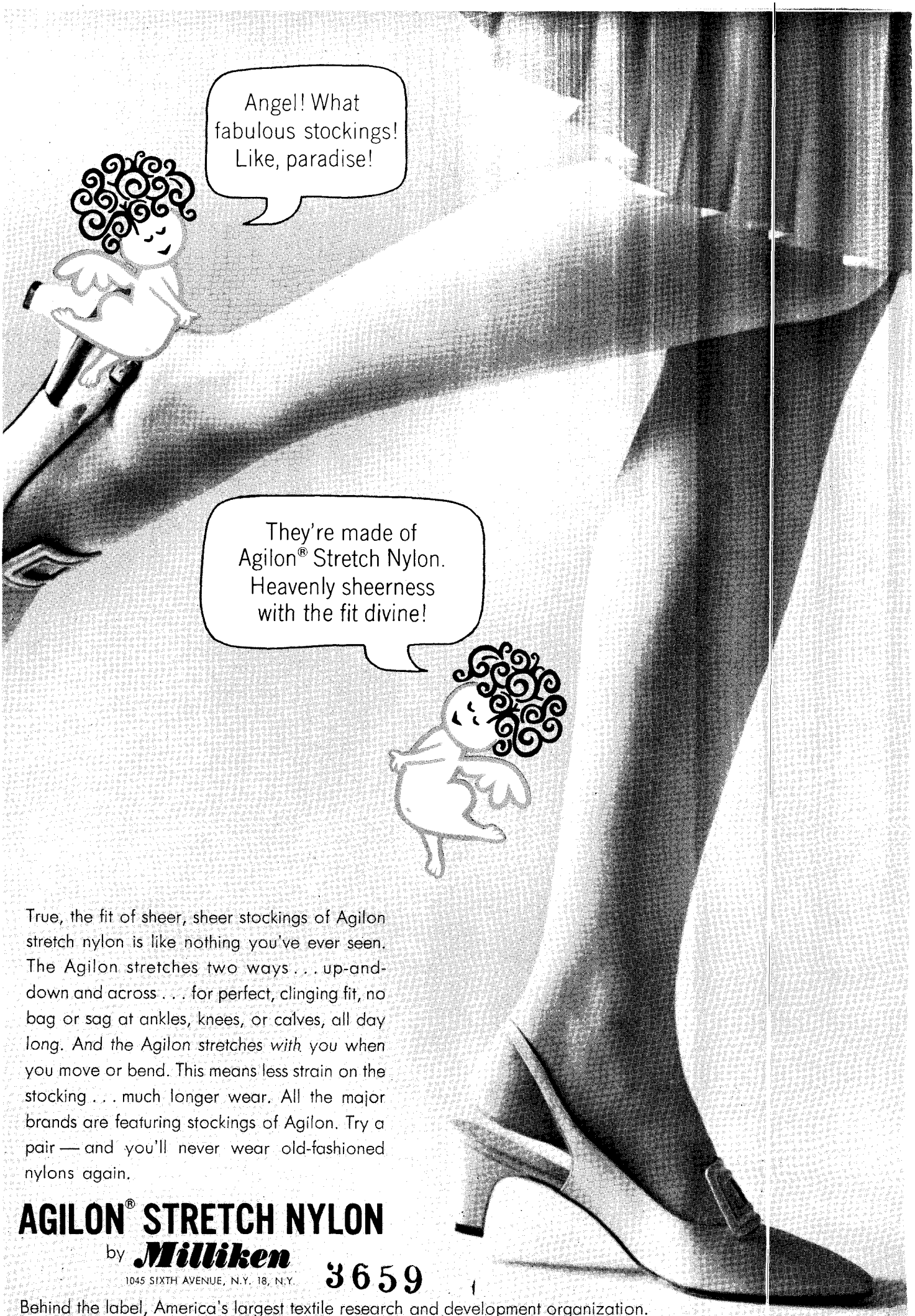
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